

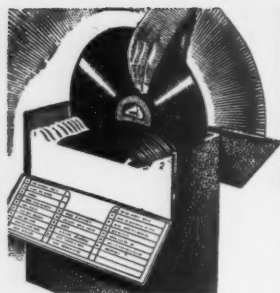
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THE MUSIC REVIEW

VOL. III, NO. 3

Edited by GEOFFREY SHARP

AUGUST, 1942

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Mozart's Ten Celebrated String Quartets

FIRST AUTHENTIC EDITION: BASED ON AUTOGRAPHS IN THE BRITISH
MUSEUM AND ON EARLY PRINTS

BY

ALFRED EINSTEIN

PREFACE¹

"C'est une chose étrange combien les imbéciles trouvent de plaisir à
patauger dans l'œuvre d'un autre! à rogner, corriger, faire le pion!"

G. FLAUBERT to G. SAND, July 14th, 1874.

IN JUSTIFICATION OF THIS EDITION

THE wording on the title page: "published for the first time from the autographs and first editions" may strike the reader as strange, and requires some explanation.

The fact that hitherto there has been no correct edition of Mozart's last ten Quartets is bound up with the history of the autographs. These autographs formed part of the mass of manuscripts found among Mozart's remains which on January 9th, 1800 passed from the hands of his widow Constanze into those of the Offenbach publisher Johann Anton André. But they did not remain long in his possession. Regarding them as no longer of value for his publishing projects he resold them to the harp-manufacturer Johann Andreas Stumpff (b. Ruhla in Thuringia, January 27th, 1769, d. London, November 2nd, 1846), who is well-known from the story of Beethoven's last years and was also friendly with Goethe. When this happened is not quite certain. Stumpff himself in a letter to Ludwig Storch (see *Die Gartenlaube*, 1857, p. 455) mentions the year 1811, but it was probably 1814, as Stumpff, who had settled in London in 1790, could as a British subject hardly have ventured upon the Continent before Napoleon's downfall, and it is 1814 that he himself mentions as the date of his visit to Germany.

¹ This edition was completed by Dr. Einstein some time ago and was to be published as volume XII of the *Publications of the Paul Hirsch Music Library* at Cambridge. The negatives of the score have been made, but production is at present held up as the necessary quantity of special paper suitable for music-printing is not available. Publication will most probably have to be delayed until after the war; but Dr. Einstein's *Preface* contains so many revelations important to the Mozart scholar that its appearance within these covers should serve a useful purpose in itself, besides whetting the appetite for what is yet to come. Of course the full extent and significance of Dr. Einstein's work will only be apparent from a study of the Critical Report together with the scores themselves. [Ed.]

(In the late summer of 1824 he also sought out Mozart's widow and sister in Salzburg and cheered the closing years of Marianne's life with a gift of money.)

Part of the Mozart autographs which he had acquired Stumpff offered for sale again as early as 1815, but the ten Quartets he retained. A year after his death, on March 30th, 1847, the first six Quartets and the Hoffmeister-Quartet were acquired for the sum of £8.18 sh. by Charles H. Chichele Plowden of London, who also purchased the three remaining Quartets from a Mr. Hamilton on the following day for an unknown sum (£4.6 sh.?). In 1907, at the suggestion of William Barclay Squire, his daughter Harriet Chichele Plowden bequeathed them, together with other manuscripts, to the British Museum. The bequest led to an action on the part of Miss Plowden's heirs, but this fortunately failed of its object.

It goes without saying that the numerous editions of Mozart's Quartets that were published before 1800 are based on one sole source, the three original editions. These are: the six Haydn Quartets, Op. X, published by Artaria in 1785; the so-called Hoffmeister-Quartet in D maj. (K. 499), published about 1788; and the three "Prussian" Quartets, Op. XVIII, which were brought out, by Artaria once more, at the end of 1791, a few weeks after Mozart's death. (Copies of all three editions, of which the second is specially scarce, are in the Paul Hirsch Music Library at Cambridge.) After January 9th, 1800 André was the only person in a position to bring out an edition corrected by reference to the autographs. This, however, he did not do. His "new and most carefully revised original edition" which was published later in score, with the plate-numbers M 1-10, is, in spite of its title, full of inaccuracies and takes great liberties with the text. Equally disappointing is the edition of the six Haydn Quartets in parts published by Franz Anton Hoffmeister ("Trois Quatuors . . . par W. A. Mozart, I-III, IV-VI", plate-numbers 60 and 85), though it must be remembered that this did not appear till the end of 1800 or the beginning of 1801, when Hoffmeister had already moved to Leipzig. Not only did he make no attempt to use his former connection with Mozart, both as friend and publisher, to gain Constanze's permission to inspect the autographs, but he allowed himself several arbitrary departures from Artaria's text, such as the reversal of the order of the Minuet and Andante in the A maj. quartet. Breitkopf and Härtel's almost contemporaneous edition of twelve quartets in parts (to the "Great Quartets" K. 157 and K. 160 are added, the former in a hopelessly garbled form) in their "Œuvres de Mozart" is already strictly

speaking an "arrangement", with new expression marks, slurs and other wilful alterations. These were the work of August Eberhard Müller, Cantor at the Thomasschule from 1804 and Director of Music at the two chief Leipzig churches, who also revised the "*Œuvres complètes*" of Haydn at about the same time. The firm paid him handsomely for his labours.

It is natural to suppose that from 1814 to 1907 the autographs of the ten great Quartets remained unavailable for editorial or critical purposes. This is true, with one important exception. They were used for the "*Gesamt-Ausgabe*" of Mozart's works, published by Breitkopf and Härtel. On March 17th, 1869 Joseph Joachim wrote to his wife: "Yesterday I was occupied with a task on which I unfortunately started too late to be able to finish it this time. Someone here possesses all the manuscripts of Mozart's Quartets, and I have started comparing the printed scores carefully with them. It is amazing how inaccurate the markings have become in the course of time; an edition by David that I recently had in my hands is the most disgraceful of all in this respect. . . ." (Letters, ed. Johannes Joachim and Andreas Moser, III, 5, 1913). In February or March 1870 Joachim seems to have completed his labours, which twelve years later (in 1882) were made available in Series XIV of the "*Gesamt-Ausgabe*". But it must be confessed that the great artist did not quite rise to the occasion. It is clear that in the midst of the artistic and social engagements that filled his days in London he had no leisure for a really detailed collation, and did not worry himself about the further question whether the autographs ought always to be reckoned as the sole authentic source. In the Critical Notes we shall quote a few instances to show that the "*Gesamt-Ausgabe*" is by no means unexceptionable. Mr. Cecil B. Oldman, of the Department of Printed Books of the British Museum, has taken the trouble to compare the text of the "*Gesamt-Ausgabe*" with that of the autographs, and the list of variations is considerable, in spite of the fact that Joachim's revision was based on the autographs alone. Nevertheless the "*Gesamt-Ausgabe*" has in turn served as an authoritative source for all later editions, although for more than thirty years there has no longer been any obstacle to the production of an "*Urtext-Ausgabe*" or "*Authentic Edition*". The only attempt at a collation of the variations between the autographs and the first editions is a manuscript list (for Op. X only) drawn up by Mr. C. B. Oldman. This he has kindly placed at my disposal as a check upon my own work.

CHARACTER AND RELATIONSHIP OF THE TWO SOURCES

In spite of certain intrinsic difficulties our task is a simple one. We may leave on one side all the older and more recent editions in parts or in score, whatever their origin or character, and concentrate solely on the autographs and the first editions, which are the only authentic sources. But they must be taken together, and at this point the question at once arises: Which of these two sources is to be regarded as of the greater importance? In other words: Did Mozart correct the proofs of his first editions, and if so, to what extent? For works of the 19th and 20th centuries it is a general rule that it is not the autograph but the text passed for printing that is authoritative for determining the final version. (Cf. Max Friedlaender, "Über die Herausgabe musikalischer Kunstwerke", *Jahrbuch der Musikbibliothek Peters für 1908*, republished in a somewhat altered form as "Über musikalische Herausgeberarbeit", Weimar, Gesellschaft der Bibliophilen, 1922, 300 copies.) Nevertheless, if for the 19th and even for the 20th century one does well never to neglect the autograph entirely and to investigate each case carefully on its merits—Beethoven is an instructive example for the beginning and Bruckner for the end of the 19th century—this is even more essential for the 18th century. Each of the three original editions of the ten Quartets presents different features. In the case of Op. X, the six Haydn Quartets, it may be taken as certain that Mozart, who in his dedication entrusted them so fondly to the world, also corrected the proofs of them himself. The alterations in the tempo indications, which as engraved are in several cases quite different from those given in the autographs, would alone suffice to prove it; but it is also clear from the numerous additional dynamic markings, especially in K. 464 and 465. Nevertheless it would not do to picture Mozart as correcting the parts with the scrupulous attention that the present-day composer would normally devote to them. He seems to have gone through the first violin part only with any particular care, and to have thrown upon the engraver full responsibility for carrying out his directions in the other parts. Thus even with Op. X it is necessary to compare first edition and autograph if the correct reading, in other words Mozart's intention, is to be determined in every doubtful case.

With the last four Quartets, the Hoffmeister-Quartet (K. 499) and the three dedicated to the King of Prussia (K. 575, 589, 590), the case is different. The Hoffmeister-Quartet was published during Mozart's lifetime, but it is very doubtful whether he read the proofs of it himself. He seems to have relied on Franz Anton Hoffmeister,

who was himself an excellent musician, and the presence of certain very un-Mozartian phrasings suggests that in his capacity as composer-publisher he may have ventured on a few arbitrary alterations in Mozart's text. In the case of the three Prussian Quartets, Op. XVIII, it is probable that Mozart did not live to see the proofs. They compare very unfavourably with Op. X, the Quartets previously published by Artaria. He seems to have employed on them one or more of his most incompetent engravers, who often completely misread Mozart's autograph. If the engraving was begun before Mozart's death—and the fact that the slow movement of K. 590 is given a different tempo in the printed parts from that marked in the autograph seems to support this supposition—he was certainly not in a position to exercise full control over it. For these three Quartets the autograph is the only source to be considered.

The engravers of the three first editions had before them either the autographs themselves or parts made from them by Mozart's copyist; in either case their intention was to provide a reasonably accurate reproduction of the autograph. Mozart's autographs, however, offer opportunities for misinterpretation, and have consequently given rise to a number of errors over and above those introduced through the engravers' carelessness. Some discussion of certain peculiarities of Mozart's handwriting, with special reference to the manuscript of the ten Quartets, is therefore necessary. For the most part Mozart wrote out his works once and once only: the same manuscript embodies both the first draft and the final working over. He never made "fair copies". This is the explanation of the occasional inaccuracies which are to be found in his otherwise neat and careful scores; inaccuracies which are repeated and multiplied in the first editions. The position of the notes is never in doubt with Mozart. On the other hand in details of articulation, such as the use of slurs and staccato marks, he is not always so consistent as to leave no room for doubt. His slurs are of course not marks of phrasing, but indicate the manner of bowing; but the marking of the individual parts is very often inconsistent where uniformity is obviously required, and quite frequently he binds together in one passage a group of notes which are divided in corresponding passages. In such cases it is not always possible to distinguish sharply between oversight and deliberate intention. The same is true of Mozart's staccati, as regards both consistency of usage and form employed. In the majority of cases Mozart contents himself with indicating the articulation at the first appearance of a motive, and leaves it to the

player to make subsequent repetitions consistent. But in a movement marked by such sensibility as the Allegretto of K. 590 crude "consistency" would be certainly a mistake. On the form of Mozart's staccato I have already spoken in the preface to the third edition of Köchel's Catalogue (p. XLIII). Mozart, like his father Leopold, knows only the staccato stroke, not the staccato dot. It is true that in Leopold Mozart's Violin School the dot is to be found on p. 37 of the first edition, but it is used only by way of demonstration: normally he employs the dot solely in conjunction with the legato slur. In conformity with this practice the first editions also use only the staccato stroke, though it already has a somewhat wedge-shaped appearance, and reserve the dot for use under legato slurs. Breitkopf and Härtel's first edition (printed from type) of the parts of these Quartets was also quite faithful to Mozart's practice in using the stroke only, but unfortunately gave it a definitely wedge-shaped form which seriously misled later editors who took this edition as their model. In many cases, however, the haste, or rather rapidity, with which Mozart wrote turned the stroke into a dot, and in others the demands of expression led him after all to employ stroke and dot as distinct expression marks, denoting respectively a stronger or a slighter accentuation. Finally, in the 19th century Mozart's stroke became the dash, signifying a very marked accentuation. This has worked incalculable mischief in almost all editions of Mozart's Quartets, and in practice has done much to coarsen their performance. As the autographs scarcely ever permit of a clear-cut decision on this point it is better to abandon the distinction between stroke and dot. In this edition we have used the staccato dot exclusively, and have preferred to leave it to the players' sensibility to determine when they had best strengthen the staccato to a martellato.

Another peculiarity of Mozart's is the infrequency with which he employs the crescendo and diminuendo sign now generally in use. A diminuendo sign such as that in bars 57 and 58 of the first movement of K. 387 is a rare exception. To indicate an increase or decrease of tone extending over several bars Mozart employs the words *cre-scen-do* and *ca-lan-do*, more rarely *decrescendo* (the term *diminuendo* he does not use). The abbreviation *cresc.* is used for shorter increases of tone, which often end in a *p*. One of his special peculiarities is the employment of *fp* or *fp*; the first denoting a weaker degree of *sf*, the second a short diminuendo. This peculiarity too Mozart derived from his father: "Often a note demands a strong, at other times a moderate, and frequently a scarcely perceptible

emphasis. The first case usually occurs with a sudden burst of sound in which all the instruments join; this is usually indicated by the sign *fp*." E.g.



Leopold Mozart does not yet know the sign *sf*, though Mozart makes frequent use of it.

EDITORIAL DETAILS

It was Mozart's practice to give his slurs, both large and small, a very liberal share of space, so that it is often doubtful whether a particular note is meant to be included by them or not. As in the first editions all the slurs are drawn very flat this ambiguity is increased, and has given rise to much misunderstanding. Attention is called to all such cases in the Critical Report.

No reference, however, has been made to peculiarities of notation customary at the time, whose correction was a mere matter of course. Neither in the autographs nor in the printed editions are accidentals repeated when the same note re-occurs after the bar-line.

On the other hand in Mozart's day an accidental was not yet valid for the whole bar: it had to be repeated each time. This obsolete practice has not been regarded.

Another merely superficial characteristic passed over without comment is the fact that in double-stoppings each note is given a separate stem, both in the autographs and in the first editions.

On the other hand Mozart's peculiarity of dividing his quaver and semiquaver figures into groups instead of stringing them together indiscriminately on a single line or set of lines—a refinement with which even the first editions frequently play havoc—has been respected. It is true that even in this point Mozart is not quite consistent, but it is better to ponder over an inconsistency of Mozart's than deliberately to efface it.

The question arises whether Mozart made further corrections to the autographs of the six Haydn Quartets and the Hoffmeister-Quartet after the publication of the first editions. It would seem that he did not. In a few places dynamic signs from the first editions have been added in pencil, but they are obviously by a later hand, probably André's. The autographs show three stages in the process of writing down. First Mozart drafted out a whole movement in its chief features, using presumably a few sketches (though hardly any have survived) for development sections and

other complicated contrapuntal passages, in order not to be hampered in writing them out. Not till then did he attempt to fill in the "blank" places. This process may be seen with special clearness in the first movement of the D maj. quartet (K. 575), the first part of the initial draft of which, as has already been noted in Köchel, goes back to an earlier date, in my opinion as early as the beginning of the 70's. (The same is true of the second movement, except that here Mozart's draft, as in some other of his sketches, is of a different kind, consisting of eight bars fully worked out, which were simply retained and continued when he resumed the composition many years later.) It appears that his resolve to write a series of quartets for the King came to him very suddenly, at a moment when he was particularly overburdened or spiritually depressed, and that this is the reason of his recourse to these earlier sketches. Such a procedure may seem hard to reconcile with Mozart's fertility of invention, and to run contrary to the natural interpretation of the other sketches and beginnings of pieces that he has left us, but in this particular case the first movement of the Quartet had already been worked out to such an extent that he had little more to do than put the finishing touches to it. The early date of the opening of the Quartet is clear not merely from the character of the theme, which recalls the series of Quartets written in August/September 1773 (*cf.* especially K. 173), but also from the use of the alto clef for the entry of the viola in a passage originally intended for the violoncello. (It must be admitted, however, that before 1789 Mozart also used the tenor clef for the violoncello as well as the bass clef.) For it is only with the series of Quartets written for the King of Prussia that Mozart begins to use the treble clef for the higher positions of the violoncello, perhaps after enquiry of Jean Pierre Duport, the Solo-Violoncellist and Director of Chamber Music of Friedrich Wilhelm II.

The first and second stages of writing down were followed by the entering of the dynamic signs, in the course of which many small improvements were made, especially as regards articulation. Thus it was during this process of revision that Mozart first added the detailed markings in the finale of K. 590, without however removing those originally made. The use of different ink makes this procedure specially noticeable in the first movement of K. 421. In the case of K. 428, as we show in the Critical Report, the revision seems to have been first undertaken at the proof stage.

When in his dedication to Haydn Mozart called his six Quartets "the fruit of long and arduous labour" (though Leopold Mozart in a letter to his daughter from Vienna, dated February 16th, 1785, in

which he recorded the first performance of the last three Haydn Quartets, expressed the opinion that they were "a little easier, it is true, but excellently written"), and when he used the same words "arduous labour" in a letter to Puchberg about the Prussian Quartets on June 12th, 1790—Mozart sold them prematurely to Artaria at this time: he had originally planned another series of six, which he intended to give L. Kozeluch to publish—he was saying no more than the truth. The autographs fully bear out his claim. Few manuscripts of his show so many rejected passages, so many corrections and erasures; the very beginning of the G maj. quartet shows most strikingly how hard he strove for perfection even in detail. These features of the autographs, which are of the highest interest for the study of Mozart's psychology as a composer, are also dealt with in the Critical Report.

Mozart, who was willing to leave the publication and the revision of a number of his piano pieces to Fräulein von Aurnhammer, appears to have acquiesced in the slovenliness of the editions of his Op. X and of the isolated D maj. quartet. For Op. X Artaria employed several engravers. Thus in K. 428 the first three movements are fairly carefully engraved, whilst the fourth movement fell to an engraver who was quite unfamiliar with the peculiarities of Mozart's hand. In the D maj. quartet (K. 499) Hoffmeister, as I have already said, appears to have been active at the proof stage. The Critical Report records all discrepancies, so that in any case of doubt players and students may have the data necessary to make up their own minds. Only in the last three Quartets, the first edition of which is a masterpiece of carelessness and irresponsibility, have we dispensed with specific references to certain divergences. Their general character has, however, been duly recorded. In almost all recent editions the six Haydn Quartets are chronologically arranged; which means that the E ♭ quartet is placed before the so-called "Hunting Quartet". We follow Mozart's own order—no doubt well-considered—as given in the autographs and the first editions, according to which the Hunting Quartet should be No. 3 and the E ♭ quartet No. 4.

I had opportunity to study the autographs during a several years' stay in London. For this privilege I must express my thanks to the Trustees of the British Museum, who were also good enough to grant me permission to have the six Haydn Quartets photographed. I have also to thank Herr Anthony van Hoboken for placing at my disposal, through Dr. Victor Luithlen, photographs of the last four quartets from the Archiv von Meisterhandschriften

founded by him in the Nationalbibliothek in Vienna. The first editions at my disposal were: Op. X, my own copy, the gift of Herr van Hoboken; the Hoffmeister-Quartet, from the Music Library of Paul Hirsch in Cambridge; Op. XVIII, from the Library of the Istituto musicale (Cons. Luigi Cherubini) in Florence. Care had to be taken to use only copies that had not been tampered with, as many copies have been defaced by erasures or additions. Dr. Georg Göhler of Lübeck and Paul Hirsch of Cambridge have given me valuable assistance with the proofs. For a description of the autographs I must refer the reader to the third edition of L. v. Köchel's "Chronologisch-thematisches Verzeichnis der Werke Mozart's", revised by me, and to the Critical Report to this edition.

On the other hand a more detailed description of the first editions may well find a place here.

A.

SEI / QUARTETTI / PER DUE VIOLINI, VIOLA, E VIOLONCELLO. / Composti e Dedicati / al Signor / GIUSEPPE HAYDN / Maestro di Cappella di S. A. / il Principe d'Esterhazy & & / Dal Suo Amico / W. A. MOZART / Opera X. / In Vienna, preßo Artaria Comp. / Mercanti ed Editori di Stampe, Musica, / e Carte Geografiche. / Cum Priv. S. C. M. Prezzo fl. 6.30.

Violino Primo	1 leaf, with title and dedication, Plates 2 — 45.
Violino Secondo	Title, Plates 2 — 43.
Viola	Title, Plates 2 — 33.
Violoncello	Title, Plates 2 — 28.

Plate-number: 59.

Dedication:

Al mio caro Amico Haydn

Un Padre, avendo risolto di mandare i suoi figlj nel gran Mondo, stimò doverli affidare alla protezione, e condotta d'un Uomo molto celebre in allora, il quale per buona sorte, era di più il suo migliore Amico. — Eccoti dunque del pari, Uom celebre, ed Amico mio carissimo i sei miei figlj. — EBi sono, è vero il frutto di una lunga, e laboriosa fatica, pur la speranza fattami da più Amici di vederla almeno in parte compensata, m'incoraggisce, e mi lusinga, che questi parti siano per eßermi un giorno di qualche consolazione. — Tu steßo Amico carissimo, nell'ultimo tuo Soggiorno in questa Capitale, me ne dimostrasti la tua soddisfazione. — Questo tuo suffragio mi anima sopra tutto, perchè Jo te li raccomandi, e mi fa sperare, che non ti sembreranno del tutto indegni del tuo favore. — Piacciati

dunque accoglierli benignamente; ed eßer loro Padre, Guida, ed Amico! Da questo momento, Jo ti cedo i miei diritti sopra di eßi: ti supplico però di guardare con indulgenza i difetti, che l'occhio parziale di Padre mi può aver celati, e di continuar loro malgrado, la generosa tua Amicizia a chi tanto l'apprezza, mentre sono di tutto Cuore.

Amico Carißimo

Vienna il p.^{mo} Settembre 1785.

Il tuo Sincer(i)ssimo Amico
W. A. Mozart.

B.

QUATUOR. / a deux Violons / alto, et Violoncelle / Composée
par / MR. W. A. MOZART / a Vienne chez Hoffmeister.

Violino Primo 1 leaf, with title, Plates 2 — 10.

Violino Secondo 8 Plates, without title.

Viola 6 Plates, without title.

Violoncello 6 Plates, without title.

Plate-number: 76. Without dedication.

C.

Tre / Quartetti / per / due Violini Viola e Baßo / del Sig.^r /
Mozart / Opera 18. / In Vienna e Magonza preßo Artaria Comp. / 3 f.

Violino I^{mo} 1 leaf, with title. Plates 2 — 20.

Violino II^{do} Plates 2 — 19, without title.

Viola Plates 2 — 17, without title.

Violoncello Plates 2 — 17, without title.

Plate-number: 361. Without dedication.

In the Paul Hirsch Music Library there is in addition to this copy a second copy that shows certain variations: — The style of the firm runs "In Vienna . . ." instead of "In Vienna e Magonza . . ."; the title page bears the plate-numbers "361. 59" instead of "361" only; the price is 3 f. 30 kr. C.M. instead of 3 f.; plate 2 is printed on the verso of the titlepage, whereas the edition described above has a separate leaf for the titlepage, with the verso blank, and the music — Violino I — does not begin until the verso of the leaf following. The parts are stamped in red "No. 7", which indicates that Artaria designed to sell these Quartets and the six Haydn Quartets, which bore the plate-number 59, as one set. The edition with the imprint "In Vienna e Magonza. . ." is undoubtedly the earlier, and presumably the first, impression.

Mathilde Ludendorff and W. A. Mozart

BY

OTTO ERICH DEUTSCH

FRAU Mathilde Ludendorff, who became the late German general's second wife in 1925, enlarged a chapter of her work *Der ungesühnte Frevel an Luther, Lessing, Mozart und Schiller* ("The Unexpiated Crime against Luther, Lessing, Mozart, and Schiller")—at least 55,000 copies have appeared since 1928—and issued the result as a separate book in 1936 under the title *Mozarts Leben und gewaltsamer Tod . . .* ("Mozart's Life and Violent Death, according to evidence provided by his closest associates and his own letters, selected from the biography of Nissen and Konstanze Mozart and other sources, examined by Dr. Mathilde Ludendorff", Ludendorff's Verlag G.m.b.H., Munich). This book was immediately banned in Austria for alleged violation of the new "Tradition-Law", and was for a time also suppressed in Germany during the following spring. In normal circumstances this strange biography of Mozart could perhaps have been ignored, but the subversive writings of this pagan (*deutschgottgläubig*) couple have become so wide-spread that we are forced to make a stand.¹ Since Max Hecker,² in a special collection of documents entitled *Schillers Tod und Bestattung* ("Schiller's Death and Burial", Insel-Verlag, Leipsic, 1935), has refuted on behalf of the "Goethe Society" the Schiller chapter of that "Crime" by Frau Ludendorff, it is fitting that the grave injustice which the authoress has committed against Mozart should be rectified.

As a first step let us establish the fact that in her study of Mozart, and others, Mathilde Ludendorff is careless in her choice of authorities, that she is entirely ignorant of the standard works on the subject (see for example Abert's Mozart Biography and Schiedermaier's edition of his letters) and that her knowledge is chiefly derived from newspapers or else has been directed by them to unimportant sources which she then over-estimates in the best dilettante manner. This can now be proved not only from the

¹ By 1935 Ludendorff's *Kriegshetze* ("Provocation of War") and *Vernichtung der Freimaurerei* ("Destruction of Freemasonry") had run to 80,000 and 168,000 copies respectively.

² On the other hand, it was the same man who had created a mild literary sensation by adding the famous slogan "Gott strafe England!" in the Index to the Complete Edition of Goethe's Works (Weimar, 1916) under the heading "England".

extensions of her chapter on Mozart in the last edition of the "Unexpiated Crime" but also from the new book itself, the greater part of which consists of quotations reprinted from the first great Mozart biography, the very subjective work of Georg Nikolaus von Nissen, Konstanze Mozart's second husband. Just as Elly Ziese, another lady of the Ludendorff circle, in her pamphlet on Schubert's poisoning (1933) believed she was discovering anew the great biography of Kreissle von Hellborn, so Mathilde Ludendorff assumes that Nissen's book (1828) was only printed in a small edition, although in point of fact it attracted almost a thousand subscribers and was republished in 1849. Frau Ludendorff, however, does not maintain, as does Elly Ziese, that her main evidence has been criminally destroyed (*weggeschächtet*)—naturally by Freemasons, Jesuits, and Jews, all of whom are, to these ladies, one and the same. On the other hand, Frau Ludendorff misquotes even the first version of Ziese's bungled work, when in her "Crime" she clumsily adds "the Jew" to the name of Franz von Schober, Schubert's friend.

To know and understand the Ludendorff circle one must first be acquainted with their spiritual forerunners who had already made Mozart a subject of their zealous investigations.

The first of them to implicate the freemasons in Mozart's death was Georg Friedrich Daumer (1800-1875), who brought up the founding Kaspar Hauser, poet and philosopher. He is better known through his collection of Persian poems entitled *Hafis* and his *Polydora*, a book of universal songs, of which Brahms has made abundant use in his 33 Daumer songs. He was originally a Protestant, but was converted to Catholicism at the age of 60 and became one of its most polemical writers. In 1861 Daumer published, under the title of *Aus der Mansarde*, a periodical which appeared in six occasional numbers (reprinted 1905) and was filled with "mystical studies" concerning secret societies. In the fourth of the six numbers Daumer dealt with the "Magic Flute", paying particular attention to Schikaneder's text and the unfinished continuation by Goethe, which he allegorically misinterpreted. He followed this up with the theme "Freemasonry and Genius", again stressing the alleged poisoning of Lessing and Mozart by their "Brethren".³ If Daumer was no better informed about details of Mozart's life than were the musicologists of his time, certainly no

³ That Lessing should have fallen a victim on account of his lack of enthusiasm as a freemason is unbelievable, for Haydn had only proceeded as far as his admission to the Lodge yet was permitted to live for a considerable time. For this reason alone the theory of Lessing's death must be discounted.

one to-day will hold that against him. For example, at first Mozart belonged to the small lodge called "Benevolence" (*Zur Wohltätigkeit*) and only later to the "New-Crowned Hope" (*Neugekrönte Hoffnung*). His former neighbour, Raitrat Loibl, here significantly termed *Rechnungsrat Loebel*, who gave him a bottle of wine occasionally, and the well-to-do merchant Puchberg—by no means a half-hearted benefactor of Mozart's—were not members of the same lodge but they were nevertheless freemasons. It has never been proved that Mozart himself wished to found a secret society called "The Grotto", probably because of his dissatisfaction with freemasonry; and to suggest that his wicked freemason friend, the clarinet-player Stadler, who took part in it, revealed Mozart's projected plan to the Lodges is just pure invention. On the other hand we can be quite sure that Mozart remained a good Catholic to the end. He was not prevented from confessing his faith by the freemasons, to whom he remained loyal, nor by the Jesuits whose Order was suspended in Austria, nor indeed by the Jews who were at that time completely powerless. The "mystery surrounding the graves" of great men, including Mozart and Lessing, was in Daumer's opinion a typical sign of "Masonic Butchery"; but it was Daumer himself who was the originator both of these words and these views. That a pauper's grave in Vienna held 15-20 coffins is a wide-spread legend; yet even the singer Ludwig Cramolini, who lived during the first half of the 19th century, spoke of only 5 or 6 coffins, and more recently Ernst Weizmann has established the fact that such a "pit" contained only four bodies. It is true, the freemasons of Vienna did not go out of their way to give Mozart a decent funeral, they did, however (like Kaiser Leopold, who was not one of the "Brethren"), take care of Mozart's dependants; Puchberg was particularly generous in this respect. In any case to implicate the freemasons in Mozart's death is, for the serious student of history, not so much madness as frivolous malevolence. Daumer and his satellites apparently judge Mozart's "Brethren" from true or false contemporary evidence, at the same time, however, they wrong modern freemasonry as well. The political influence of modern Freemasons is obviously much weaker than that exercised by their 18th-century predecessors, but the new Brethren would of course be quite incapable of so-called "Masonic Butchery". (This is asserted by someone who knows only the historical Lodges.)

The second to attack the Viennese freemasons was Hermann Ahlwardt (1846-1914), headmaster of a school in Berlin, later a

politician, a member of the Reichstag and of the democratic section of German anti-Semitism. He published, among other books, *Der Verzweiflungskampf der arischen Völker mit dem Judentum* ("The Aryan People's Desperate Struggle against Jewry", 1890) and *Mehr Licht! Der Orden Jesu in seiner wahrhaften Gestalt und in seinem Verhältnis zum Freimaurer- und Judentum* ("More Light! The Jesuits in their True Colours and in their Relationship to Freemasonry and Jewry", 1910, a later edition not before 1928). Here the dilettantism of such virulent writings is already blossoming forth. Ahlwardt describes his precursor Daumer as a "Mozart-Scholar", while the great Jahn-Abert biography dismisses him in a footnote with an exclamation mark. Kaiser Josef, whose ironical attitude towards freemasonry would have warmed the heart of any truly keen opponent, is here given a place among the Brethren. In accordance with the customary procedure, the stage-manager Schikaneder (Ahlwardt makes him die before his time) is relieved of the authorship of the "Magic Flute" libretto, which is erroneously attributed to another of the Brethren, namely, the actor Gieseke. According to Ahlwardt, Mozart was unable, on account of ill-health, to be present at the first performance in November, 1791, but, according to established fact, he not only attended in good health, but conducted the first performance some two months earlier! As his authorities Ahlwardt quotes in one place Hermann Wagner's *Staats- und Gesellschaftslexikon* ("State and Society Lexicon") of 1865, and in another the Brockhaus-Lexikon of 1845. That will astonish no-one who happens to have read Elly Ziese's pamphlet about Schubert's poisoning. Ahlwardt assumes the rôle of forerunner to these ladies, too, when he declares that the documents useful for his theses, and therefore overestimated in importance, were destroyed by that Wicked Trio, the Jews, Jesuits and Masons, and were removed from the public libraries. By the way, the authors of these works are supposed to have remained uncomplaining solely on account of fear. Such documents have in reality often become scarce from a very natural cause—they are out of print. Ahlwardt is a forerunner of the Ludendorff school, too, when he asserts that the same Trio always bury their victims in secret. He handles Schiller also according to Daumer's approved recipe to enable him to speak of a "Schiller-Lessing-Mozart-Consumption" (eine *Schiller-Lessing-Mozart-Schwind-sucht*), and he already attacks Goethe for being a "false friend and weakling" in no gentle manner, a thing that General Ludendorff subsequently did much more thoroughly. Furthermore, Ahlwardt

makes a startling prophecy of the World War, crediting the Jesuits with stirring up all the trouble in Serbia, while, of course, the free-masons have meanwhile assassinated the Crown Prince of Austria, a fable, established incidentally by Ahlwardt's spiritual heiress and Ludendorff's wife.

Those two precursors are now followed by Dr. Mathilde Ludendorff, the former Frau von Kemnitz, née Spiess (a native of Sweden), who begins by honouring Luther with her attention (with Melancthon as his Judas), but in the latest editions of her book includes also Leibnitz, Dürer, Fichte, Schubert and Nietzsche. The original title of the book was *Der ungesühnte Frevel an Luther, Lessing, Mozart und Schiller im Dienste des allmächtigen Baumeister aller Welten* ("The Unexpiated Crime against Luther, Lessing, Mozart and Schiller Committed in the Service of the Master-Architect of the Universe"). That Mozart had already been a Mason in Salzburg is an error which can be traced back to earlier authors, as, indeed, can the false assertion that he was ever a member of the Illuminati. For this reason alone it is incorrect to call the somewhat misunderstood Archbishop Colloredo one of Mozart's "Brethren"; for when Colloredo dismissed Mozart from his service so ungraciously in Vienna, the great master had not yet become a Mason. The Viennese Brethren could certainly have taken better care of Mozart than they did, and undoubtedly they had their shortcomings; nevertheless, the Puchberg case shows that Mozart's pleas for their financial aid were by no means made in vain, as Frau Ludendorff would have us believe they were. The story that Mozart was shaken by information received by the lodge concerning the coming execution of Marie Antoinette is nothing but a fabrication. To assert that the supposed collaborator in writing the "Magic Flute" libretto (concerning the authorship of which Frau Ludendorff and Daumer differ) had to flee the vengeance of the Masons is just another of the misconceptions that she adopts; for when Gieseke left Vienna about the year 1800 the lodges had long been dissolved in this city; and Schikaneder, the real author, remained there safe and sound. Frau Ludendorff describes Mozart's funeral as that of a criminal performed "with Jewish ritual". The description of that ghastly burial in Reclam's edition of the "Magic Flute" libretto is supposed to have been already "criminally removed". The Masons are supposed to have heralded the name of Mozart, known far beyond the boundaries of his native town when he was still only a child, in the hope of making an "artificial Jew" of him (like Goethe and the Grand-duke of Weimar,

Karl August), even though Maria Theresa had not at that time tolerated a single lodge in Austria. His home in Vienna (the house in which he died) was pulled down because, according to her, the disillusioned Masons, now murderers, wished to obliterate every clue, and not for the more usual reasons that buildings are condemned and demolished. Moreover, the Masons are supposed to have caused Salieri to be suspected of having murdered Mozart in order to shift the guilt from their own shoulders. Goethe's continuation of the "Magic Flute", which Daumer insisted was hostile to freemasonry, is in this work declared to be a glorification of the order. From a Viennese journalist and news-illustrator writing in the *Leipziger Illustrierte Zeitung*, Frau Ludendorff accepts the "historical proof" that the questionable skull of Mozart in Salzburg, bequeathed to that town by the celebrated anatomist Hyrtl, was exchanged for another, naturally by the guilt-stricken freemasons, before it was handed over, as was the skull of Schiller. Frau Ludendorff ascribes to her precursor Ahlwardt, with all due appreciation of his services with regard to Schiller, "many incorrect assertions" and "too shallow a treatment of material" in this case, but thanks him nevertheless for establishing the fact that Schiller was murdered by the Illuminati. She apparently believes that she herself, in dealing with Mozart, has done credit to historical truth as far as "an objective study of sources and professional medical opinion" are concerned. This is not so, however, for she, like Ahlwardt, consults only old authorities which she then proceeds to confuse, and, like him, she reads so readily between the lines of these documents that she could often dispense with the actual text altogether.

* * *

But now let us turn to the *Volksbüchlein über Mozart* ("Popular Pamphlet on Mozart") itself. Nothing shall be said here of the author's style, which is often bombastic and sometimes unintentionally misleading, or of her minor slips, which are perhaps only her misreadings of other authors' texts or even of her own excerpts. We shall concern ourselves only with Mathilde Ludendorff's arguments and endeavour to shake the foundations of the Ludendorff Publishing Co. Ltd. with regard to Mozart history.

That Mozart senior already enjoyed the favour of the lodges when he brought his two child-prodigies to Vienna for the first time in 1762 is sheer nonsense, because, as we have said already, no lodges existed at that time in the city. Mathilde Ludendorff designates the Archbishop as Master of the "Prudence" Lodge in

Salzburg without a qualm, instead of the Domherr Graf Spaur. The wavering Richard Koch, to whom she owes this suggestion, merely stated that Leopold and Wolfgang Mozart had been "visiting Brethren" there, an assertion which remains unconfirmed. But the Archbishop had absolutely no connexion with any of the lodges, and he was no more a Mason or a member of the Illuminati than were van Swieten or Kaiser Leopold, another two Viennese victims of Mathilde Ludendorff.

She believes that Mozart senior led his son astray by inducing him to become a freemason whereas in truth exactly the reverse was the case. "Had she known this, she would hardly have represented Leopold Mozart as an unnatural father, or described many of his letters to Wolfgang as an "abyss of degenerate ideas". Perhaps, had she been better informed, she would not have been so hard on the Archbishop either, even though she must already have hated him as representative of the Church, the so-called "Protector of the Arts".

But what is remarkable and significant is that these ladies, who wish to quote their mothers and grandmothers, have, like the gentlemen members of their company, always neglected to give serious study to the authorities they chose. The documents of the eighteenth century Austrian freemasons and their membership lists are to be found complete in the "Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv" in Vienna, for they were seized about the year 1795, and there they have remained, accessible to everyone for more than 20 years. From these documents the Ludendorff adherents could have seen what a respectable body at that time constituted the Viennese lodges; of their members, several hundred in number, only three were former Jesuits; there were, in addition, three Jews and one Negro, all baptized. But the fact that Salieri and van Swieten were not freemasons in intellectual Vienna about 1790 is just too bad for the "poison theory". Perhaps even freemasons of modern times are not aware of that fact; in any case they have not studied the Viennese documents sufficiently well to defend the old lodges as they should.

Because she thinks she has discovered some mystery in the signature, Mathilde Ludendorff prints, too, in facsimile, Mozart's well-known epistle to Professor Klein, of Mannheim, in which he writes about German opera. In her ignorance she reads, "W.Br. Mozart" instead of "W. A. Mozart", written in German script, i.e. "Brother" instead of "Amadeus". For the same reason the expression "if only we had a single patriot in the field" (*am Brette*)

must needs mean something masonic to this lady of superior knowledge. In her "Crime" she adds, to quote her word for word, "he means the blackboard (*das schwarze Brett*) in the lodge, on which were written the names of newly initiated Brethren". Once again, this is a pure invention on Mathilde Ludendorff's part. "Then Mozart apologizes for having spoken openly (!), and in concluding his letter says much in few words about the spiritual oppression exercised in accordance with their Jewish, anti-German aims." His words, according to her, were "... in the humble tone prescribed by the lodge when addressing a Brother of higher standing . . .", and he therefore signs himself "... your most obedient servant". This is aptly answered by a couplet from Nestroy, the Viennese satirist: *Und's is alles net wahr! Und's is alles net wahr!* ("And all that isn't true, and all that isn't true!") But if Mathilde Ludendorff should learn, through this essay, that Anton Klein was also on friendly terms with Schiller, it will be a very welcome addition to her "Crime".

In her explanation of the "Magic Flute" text she makes not Pamina's, but Tamino's father carve the magic flute out of the thousand year old German oak. But Tamino is Mozart himself, his father the German people, and the magic flute is, of course, German music (unfortunately the German oak-tree is nothing at all), according to Mathilde Ludendorff, who refers to K. Bayer's interpretation. Mozart is supposed to have wished, by means of the "Magic Flute", to liberate Marie Antoinette, that is, Pamina; but "since the bloody racial hatred of the Jew" in Paris instigated "the wholesale massacre of the fair-haired aristocracy", Mozart fell victim to masonic butchery, as General Ludendorff decided earlier in his book *Vernichtung der Freimaurerei durch Enthüllung ihrer Geheimnisse* ("Destruction of Freemasonry by Unveiling its Secrets"). Mathilde Ludendorff is, however, the first to present Marie Antoinette with a blonde Nordic wig in front of the scaffold.

It is untrue to say that Sophie Haibel, Konstanze's sister, could not find a priest willing to give Extreme Unction to her brother-in-law. She brought one with her from St. Peter's in Vienna. The reason why priests belonging to the official ecclesiastical body of St. Stephen's, for instance, were discouraged from performing this office was not because they, too, had been freemasons, but rather because *Mozart* was one; more probably, however, because he himself did not actually ask for the Last Sacrament ("We are pleased to know this", adds Mathilde Ludendorff). It is another mistake to say that the ecclesiastics of St. Stephen's Cathedral must have taken care of

Mozart because he was choirmaster there. He had, however, been promised a post by the municipal council of Vienna which was to include the duty of deputizing for the choirmaster, for which he was to receive no salary; his death however intervened.

Who the patron of the Requiem was is no longer a mystery. The Graf Walsegg, who ordered it after the death of his wife, and his steward Leutgeb, who handed over the commission to Mozart, had nothing at all to do with the freemasons. Contrary to Mathilde Ludendorff's assertion, the freemasons, however, never possessed the work and never had it performed. She must now fit in elsewhere the alleged letter containing the Lodge's death sentence. Indeed, an anonymous poem about the origin of the Requiem (from Nissen's supplement) is quoted too, and it is used as a historical source. It is concluded from the wording of the poem that the writer was himself a freemason. Every little helps!

Mathilde Ludendorff intimates that Mozart was poisoned at the last Sunday concert in van Swieten's house, but, unfortunately, these matinées were discontinued as early as 1785; only rehearsals still took place at van Swieten's. To be sure, he did not exactly shine as a patron when he proposed a third-class funeral to the widow, but perhaps he can be excused in some measure because he had just been dismissed, as a punishment, from the office of Court Librarian, a fact which has remained unnoticed in literature on Mozart.

Mathilde Ludendorff states that Mozart was ignominiously buried wrapped only in a piece of cloth, the black garment of the *Totenbruderschaft* ("Brotherhood of Death"), prior to his empty coffin being solemnly blessed in the *Kreuzkapelle* of St. Stephen's Cathedral for form's sake. That is nothing but a myth. Alas! the tragedy of Mozart's death is apparently not tragic enough for these sorrowful ladies, and they vent their anger on other dead bodies. They resort to exaggeration when history, in all its crudeness, seems to offer them no more.

That Mozart, who died during the morning of 5th December, 1791, should have been blessed and buried on the following afternoon (the 6th) did not suit Daumer's gloomy purpose. It must be night-time when such stars die out, and the astrologers must needs make night out of day. The time allowed by Daumer, that "Mozart-Scholar", who had the great master interred at midnight the same day, is now a little prolonged by Mathilde Ludendorff, who has the "fast-decaying" body buried in the "communal grave" 24 hours after death. *Aus Weiss mach' Schwarz, aus Zwei mach'*

Eins, das ist das Hexeneinmaleins ("Make white black, make two one, that's the witches' twice times table"). Mathilde, however, does it in a way of her own. *Willst du genau erfahren, was sich ziemt, so frage nur bei edlen Frauen an* ("Wouldst thou learn exactly what is fitting, enquire of noble ladies only").

In conclusion, this saviour of masonic victims, in consequence of a newspaper review, happens upon a pamphlet about Mozart's grave by Hermine Cloeter, a well-known Viennese authoress. Mathilde Ludendorff soon notices that the text of 1936 does not quite conform to the contents of the pamphlet of 1931 which the bookseller procured for her. It cannot be due to chance that this date does not stand on the title page, but on the back next to the copyright (it is issued by a school book publishing company). Evidently it was intended to conceal the fact that the pamphlet had appeared soon after the "Crime". Unfortunately for the noble lady the newspaper review of 1936 relates to another of Hermine Cloeter's pamphlets which handles the same theme, and this Viennese lady is certainly not a defender of the lodges.

However, H. Cloeter censures the conduct of Konstanze after Mozart's death very sharply, but Mathilde Ludendorff, who is merely displeased with Goethe for having been indisposed at the time of Schiller's funeral, finds it quite comprehensible that Mozart's wife should have found herself in the same situation. Mathilde Ludendorff attempts to invalidate H. Cloeter's damning argument that a few days afterwards Konstanze handed in a petition directed to His Majesty, Leopold II, requesting a pension, by ingeniously suggesting that although dated 11th December, 1791, this petition need not necessarily have been handed in until much later. Unfortunately, such a hypothesis is contradicted by the official decision, which expressly states that the claim was filed immediately after Mozart's death.

That his lodge held a mourning ceremony for him and collected money for his dependants is passed over in discreet silence by Mathilde Ludendorff; to make amends for this, she asserts, once more incorrectly, that the pamphlet entitled *Mozarts Geist* ("The Spirit of Mozart") was published by the freemasons in self-defence against the rumour concerning Mozart's poisoning. The false dating of this pamphlet (1793 instead of 1803) is unmasked in the space of three pages. The author of this anonymously published composition has long been known; he is a lawyer from Erfurt, J. E. F. Arnold by name, and the Viennese lodges, for which he is supposed to have been legal representative, no longer existed during

those ten years, which Mathilde Ludendorff would like to juggle away. She even suspects that Nissen was a freemason in Salzburg about 1825. How well this learned lady knows the history of the Order, especially in Austria!

The interpolation of (to her) agreeable utterances is carried to such an extent, that towards the end of her book on Mozart she even misquotes the latest edition of her own "Crime" with the words: "In my book 'Mozart's Life and Violent Death' the chain of circumstantial proof is complete." That is not a hysteron proteron, but a symptom of this "highly strung" nerve specialist, an example of self-satisfaction equalled only by the following quotation from the latest edition of her "Crime": "... the seventh of my philosophical works, *Das Gottlied der Völker, eine Philosophie der Kulturen*, a book which, like the other six books previously published in the series coming from my pen, will outlive by centuries the Goethe Society and much that is very closely linked with it." (Meaning, apparently, Goethe himself, who is the closest link.) Since the late General Ludendorff judged his wife to be the most important of the lady-philosophers it is not surprising that she describes his work of revelation, *Kriegshetze und Völkermorden in den letzten 150 Jahren, Vernichtung der Freimaurerei, II Teil* ("Provocation of War and Race-Murder in the last 150 Years, Destruction of Freemasonry, Part 2") as "epoch-making".

Gustav Gugitz, a noteworthy authority on the history of Austrian culture, deduces from the analogy with Haydn and other figures well-known in Vienna about the year 1800, that Mozart's skull was stolen from the grave soon after the funeral by followers of the Gall school; but Mathilde Ludendorff is certain that skull-stealing and subsequent burial like criminals were typical features of masonic butchery, as was interment in a communal grave.

She would have us believe, quite wrongly as we have seen, that she is a well-informed authority on masonic history; she prides herself, too, as a former nerve-specialist, on her knowledge of medicine. She has set herself up as an expert in post-mortem examinations of cases diagnosed, much too late, as murders. Mathilde Ludendorff, in her position as expert, a position she reached and defends by literary means, enjoys many advantages. She is not compelled to await a summons before a real tribunal, but chooses her own cases and at the same time she passes sentence on the accused in her capacity as judge. Moreover, in the cases she chooses the charges are so ancient that there are no living defendants and witnesses. Judge and legal pathologist alone comprise the

court. Even if they are not paid by the state at least their zeal is rewarded by the freedom of procedure which they enjoy. This freedom gives Mathilde Ludendorff an opportunity of reaping a pecuniary reward, for the book-buying public pays its recorder handsomely, and Mathilde Ludendorff, versatile as she is in every sense of the word, by publishing the proceedings of the court, assumes this office also. In fact, she is a veritable Pooh-Bah.

It becomes really dangerous for Mathilde Ludendorff, the lady-doctor, philosopher and historian, when she plays the part of connoisseuse of art, especially of Mozart's music; for she then reveals the thoughtless use she makes of one of her chief sources—the daily papers. She maintains that Mozart's early work "*La finta semplice*", which he composed at the age of twelve, was not performed in Vienna because of an intrigue which she ascribes to the "enemies of German art", inferring from that, and certainly not from a personal knowledge of this work, that this opera "may be placed with confidence alongside Mozart's later masterpieces". Evidently Mathilde Ludendorff has been led to this conclusion by newspaper reports on the première of a German version of this buffo-opera in Karlsruhe (1921). Because Volkner, a super-intendent at Baden, states that *Die verstellte Einfalt* ("*La finta semplice*") was then written only in manuscript form and that only one copy of it was at hand, Mathilde Ludendorff assumes that until then the score had been forgotten, and that Volkner produced the work "solely from the manuscript" (!). The opera had, of course, long been printed in Mozart's Collected Works, but why should such a versatile scholar trouble to examine the works of the master when he interests her only as a *corpus delicti*?

The age of Mozart and Schiller is for amateur judges particularly productive of such murder-trials, because, as Gugitz has already emphasized, diagnoses at that time were very unreliable where fatal diseases were concerned. If, therefore, the actual *corpora delicti* or even the *membra disjecta* were lost—so much the better. The prejudiced verdict runs: "And if they are dead, they were poisoned!" After Haydn has been disposed of, the skull of whom Mathilde Ludendorff has already discovered, undoubtedly Beethoven will receive Mathilde's pathological attentions and in the end share the fate of his great contemporaries and come under Mathilde's spell.

The book ends with an "Index of Foreign Words in Explanation of Musical Terms", which do not occur in the book at all, and with an explanation of the engraving called the "*Convoi du pauvre*", a copy of which at one time was in Beethoven's possession and now

hangs in the Mozart Museum at Salzburg. As is well known, this picture does not portray Mozart's funeral, though perhaps Beethoven regarded it as a reminder of that event. Our authoress adds: "It was actually much worse." She quotes Konstanze as having said: "Because it was the custom of that time to convey the deceased to church in the hearse for the body to be blessed, after which it was taken without further ceremony to the grave, it was unfortunate that none of Mozart's acquaintances and friends accompanied the body." Mathilde Ludendorff would no longer have us believe the hearse in the symbolical picture to be genuine, and the solitary dog trailing along behind represents not dogged fidelity, but Evil, or, in the opinion of the freemason Goethe, the Devil himself. We have now reached the very kernel of this *Volksbüchlein über Mozart*. If Mozart could only read it himself he would perhaps write a canon cancrizans *An Mathilde Ludendorff* on the acrostic: *ars mihi lex*.

Mediaeval Jewish Writers on Music

BY

HENRY GEORGE FARMER

"Very few are the writings of our . . . scholars on the meaning of the theory of music."

—Steinschneider: *Beth ozar ha-sipharoth*.

SOME months ago I contributed an article to a journal devoted to Islamic studies on Mediaeval Jewish writers on music, and a musicologist friend of mine has pointed out that the subject deserves fuller consideration, not only from an Orientalist's point of view, but from that of the musicologist. I have deemed it advisable to agree with this argument, more especially with the hope that these "very few" writings, to which Steinschneider refers, may attract the attention of scholars who might be tempted to edit and translate them.

So little has been done in this direction. The late Professor Richard Gottheil, of Columbia University, gave us the text and a translation of a Genizah fragment,¹ and the present writer has published the text and translation of a *responsum* of Maimonides,² whilst another work, *Sa'adyah Gaon on the Influence of Music*, is now in the printer's hands. It seems necessary, therefore, that we should know of what this field consists, that I suggest is worthy of being reaped.

From the tenth to the fifteenth century the theoretical science of music was considered one of the subjects to be studied in the mathematical disciplines of higher Jewish education. It was known as the *hokmath ha-musiqi* or *musiqi*, a term derived from Arabic which, in turn, had been borrowed from Greek. Sometimes we find other Hebrew equivalents for the term, such as *hokmath ha-hibbur* (science of composition), or *hibbur ha-ne'imoth* (composition of notes), or *hibbur ha-niggun* (composition of melody), or merely *zimrah* (music), a word which stood, more generally, for practical music. The study of music, as in the Muslim schools, was divided into two groups, the theoretical (*yedi'ah*) and the practical (*ma'aseh*).

Ishaq ibn Sulaiman (d. ca. 932), better known as Isaac Israeli,

¹ *Jewish Quarterly Review* (1932).

² *Maimonides on Listening to Music*, by H. G. Farmer (1941).

said that the theory of music was "the last and the best" of the mathematical sciences to be mastered. Abraham bar Hiyyah (d. ca. 1136) dealt with arithmetic, geometry, optics, astronomy and music in his *Yesode ha-tebunah* (Foundations of Understanding). Yusuf ibn 'Aqnin (d. 1226), whose *Tabb al-nufus* (Enlightenment of Souls) had wide circulation in the East, included arithmetic, geometry, optics, astronomy, music, and statics in his scheme of scientific study. In the *Yair netib* of Yehudah ben Shemuel ibn 'Abbas (13th cent.) music is counted with arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and optics among the disciplines. Another Spanish Jewish scholar, Shem Tob ben Yoseph ben Palaquera (d. ca. 1300), in whose *Sepher ha-mebaqqash* there is a passage on music, makes arithmetic, geometry, optics, music and astronomy the appropriate order. 'Immanuel ben Shelomoh (d. ca. 1330), the Italian Jewish poet, says that the sequence is arithmetic, geometry, music, mechanics, optics and astronomy. Even the Qabbalist Abraham ben Yizhaq of Granada (ca. 1400) sang in praise of the *quadrivium* when he said, "Safety in arithmetic, fortune in astronomy, firmness in geometry, and prosperity in music."³

In all these sciences the Jews depended on Arabic treatises for the greater part, and how deeply they were indebted in this respect is clearly demonstrated by Yusuf ibn 'Aqnin (d. 1226) in his *Tabb al-nufus*,⁴ where all the textbooks recommended are by Greek or Arabic authors. In the theory of music he recommends "the book of Abū Naṣr", by which he means the *Kitab al-musiḡi al-kabir* of Abu Naṣr al-Farabi, the greatest work on music that had been written up to this date.⁵ More than half of Ibn 'Aqnin's section on the theory of music is a verbatim reproduction of the entire chapter on the subject from Al-Farabi's *Iḥṣā' al-'ulum*, as I pointed out some years ago.⁶

On the other hand, the Jews of Spain preferred some of their own authorities, even if they were, *ab origine*, dependent on Arabic sources. We see this in the *Yair netib* of Yehudah ben Shemuel ibn 'Abbas, where the Jews Abraham ibn Ezra and Abraham bar Hiyyah are mentioned with the Muslims Ibn al-Haitham, Al-Fargani,

³ Steinschneider, *Jewish Literature*, 153, 179, 350, 337. Wolfson, *The Hebrew Union College Jubilee Volume* (Cincinnati, 1925). Güdemann, *Das jüdische Unterrichtswesen während der spanisch-arabischen Periode*, 41, 94, 144, 153, 157; *Geschichte des Erziehungswesens und der Cultur der Juden in Italien während des Mittelalters*, 120, 124.

⁴ For text and translation see Güdemann, *Das jüdische Unterrichtswesen*.

⁵ Farmer, *Sources of Arabian Music*, 34.

⁶ Farmer, *Al-Farabi's Arabic-Latin Writings on Music* (1934), 57.

Abu 'Abdallah al-Khwarizmi, and the elusive Ibn al-Ḥaṣṣar, among the authors of textbooks on mathematics.⁷

In almost all of the mathematical sciences there were treatises in Hebrew, some original, others translated from Arabic. The one exception was the discipline of music. Here there was hardly an original work from Jewish hands. We are therefore forced to accept the dictum of Steinschneider that "Jewish theory of music belongs, like all similar sciences, originally to the Arabian school".⁸ What was the Arabian school?

Although the Arabs had produced a few early writers on the theory of music in Yunus al-Katib (d. ca. 765), Al-Khalil (d. 791), and Ishaq al-Mauṣili (d. 850), it was not until the Syrian scholars had translated Aristotle, Aristoxenus, Nicomachus, Euclid, Cleonides, Ptolemy and other Greek writers on the theory of music into Arabic, during the second half of the ninth and the first half of the tenth centuries, that the scientific theory of music came to be studied by the Arabs.⁹

The first fruits of these researches were the Arabic treatises on music by Al-Kindi (d. ca. 874), Al-Sarakhsi (d. 899), Thabit ibn Qurra (d. 901), Abu Bakr al-Razi (d. 923), and the famous Al-Farabi (d. ca. 950). Later came Al-Buzjani (d. 988), Ibn Sina (d. 1037), Ibn al-Haitham (d. 1038), Abu Ṣalt Umayya (d. 1134), all of whom belonged to the East. In the West, i.e. Arab Spain, there appeared Ibn Bajja (d. 1139) and Ibn Rushd (d. 1198). In other spheres of study these writers had an immense influence culturally, not only on the Semitic and Aryan East, but in the European West, as the numerous translations of Arabic authors into Latin under such names as Alquindus, Thebid, Rhages, Alfarabius, Alhazenus, Avenpace and Averroes testify.¹⁰

Although the activities of Arabic writers in this field are everywhere apparent, the Jews appear to have contributed but little, as may be seen from Steinschneider's *Jüdische Literatur des Mittelalters*, and even the sparse crop of documents on the subject that has been spared us reveal that they are borrowings, direct or indirect, from Arabic originals, written by Muslims.¹¹

The earliest Jewish writer to deal with any phase of the theory

⁷ Güdemann, *Das jüdische Unterrichtswesen*, 151.

⁸ Steinschneider, *Jewish Literature*, 154.

⁹ See my article in the *Encyclopaedia of Islām*, iii, 751, and *Isis*, xiii, 325.

¹⁰ Steinschneider, *Die europäischen Übersetzungen aus dem arabischen (Sitz. Akad. d. Wiss. Wien, cxlix, cli. Farmer, An Old Moorish Lute Tutor (1933).*

¹¹ *Jewish Quarterly Review* (1905), xvii, 559-61.

of music is Sa'adyah Gaon (d. 942). He deals with rhythm and its influence in the tenth chapter of his *Kitab al-amanat*. This treatment, as I have fully demonstrated in my *Sa'adyah Gaon on the Influence of Music*, is obviously based on Arabic documents.

Some years ago the late Professor Richard Gottheil of Columbia University, U.S.A., sent me a copy of a Genizah fragment on music discovered at Cairo, asking me whether the work was original or derived from some Arabic author. The fragment was written in Arabic but in the Hebrew script, and I soon discovered that it was a verbatim extract from the Arabic *Risala al-musiqi* of the Ikhwan al-Ṣafa' (late 10th cent.). It is my intention to edit these Genizah fragments with a translation shortly.

After Sa'adyah there is a hiatus in Jewish theorists of music until the twelfth century, when Abraham bar Ḥiyyah (d. ca. 1136) dealt with this subject in his *Yesode ha-tebunah*. Only fragments of this work survive, and none of these contains the section on music. There is, however, a Hebrew manuscript on mathematics (including music) in the Vatican (400,5) attributed to this writer, although Zunz thinks that it is merely a translation from an Arabic work.¹²

In this century also the Spanish Jews began to be interested in Greek literature as known in Arabic translations. In the *Kitab al-muḥaḍara* of Mosheh ibn Ezra (d. ca. 1138) there are passages on the connexion between poetry and music which are derived from Aristotle's *Poetics* and Plato's *Timaeus*.¹³ These may have been derived from a work by Al-Farabi,¹⁴ although both the *Poetics* and *Timaeus* had been known in Arabic since the tenth century. Both Abraham ibn Ezra and Abraham bar Ḥiyyah were interested in this subject.¹⁵ How much of it was genuinely appreciated is difficult to say.

A great contemporary was Yehudah al-Ḥarizi (12th cent.), who issued the *Sepher musre ha-philosophim* (Dicta of the Philosophers). It was but a translation from the Arabic *Kitab adab al-falasifa* of Ḥunain ibn Ishāq (d. 873) which contained three sections devoted to the sayings of Greek philosophers on music.¹⁶ None of these books, just mentioned dealt with the theory of music.

Jewish scholars knew of Aristotle's chapter on the physical bases

¹² *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, i, 108. Steinschneider, *Jew. Lit.*, 337.

¹³ Steinschneider, *loc. cit.*

¹⁴ Farmer, *Sources* . . . , 36.

¹⁵ Zunz, *Synagogale Poesie des Mittelalters*, 114, 116. Steinschneider, *Jew. Lit.*, 154.

¹⁶ See *Sepher musre ha-philosophim* (Frankfort a/M, 1896) for the text, and *Sinnsprüche der Philosophen* (Berlin, 1896) for the translation. Both were done by A. Loewenthal.

of sound as contained in *De anima* (ii, 419b-421a) which had been translated into Arabic by Ishaq ibn Hunain (d. 910) as the *Kitab al-nafs*.¹⁷ This was translated into Hebrew as the *Kelale sepher ha-nefesh* by Mosheh ibn Tibbon in 1244,¹⁸ whilst the Middle Commentary on *De anima*, made by Ibn Rushd (d. 1198), which was known in Arabic as the *Sharh fi'l-nafs*,¹⁹ was also translated by Mosheh into Hebrew as the *Bi'ur sepher ha-nefesh* in 1261.²⁰ All this shows that the Jews were not much later than the Christians in this accomplishment, since Michael Scot's Latin translation of Ibn Rushd's masterpiece was only done about 1230-40. Two other Hebrew translations of these works appeared in the thirteenth century, the former by Serahyah ben Yizhaq, and the latter by Shem Tob ben Yizhaq ha-Tortosi.

The only other Jewish production from Greek sources on the theory of music is a work in Hebrew which deals with the *Sectio canonis* of Euclid. Steinschneider mentions Mosheh ben Levi, who quotes Shem Tob ben Yizhaq Shaprut (fl. 1375-85), in a work entitled *Perush 'al ha-qanun* (Commentary on the Canon),²¹ but I have been unable to trace this work. Fortunately there is extant at Munich a Commentary on the Canon entitled '*Al ha-qanun* (Concerning the Canon) by Ishaiah ben Yizhaq, who may very well be identical with the aforesaid Shem Tob. The text of this was published in Eisig Gräber's journal *Beth ozar ha-sipharoth* (Treasure House of Books),²² of which I have made a translation, still awaiting publication. Strange to say, Steinschneider thought that this *qanun* was the book by this name which was written by Ibn Sina.²³ Whether this '*Al ha-qanun* is an original work or not cannot be said, but two commentaries on the *Sectio canonis* had already appeared in Arabic in the *Risala fi qismat al-qanun* (Book on the Division of the Canon) by Al-Kindi, and the *Kitab sharh qanun Uqlidis* (Book of the Commentary on Euclid's Canon) by Ibn al-Haitham.²⁴

All this was effected in Arab Spain or nearby. In the East there is little to show on the subject. I have already mentioned the *Ṭabb al-nufus* of Ibn 'Aqnin (d. 1226), which is not only written in Arabic, but borrows verbatim from an Arabic source. The original was, as I have said, the *Iḥṣā' al-'ulum* of Al-Farabi. This treatise

¹⁷ Farmer, *Sources* . . . , 24.

¹⁸ Steinschneider, *Die hebräischen Übersetzungen*, 147.

¹⁹ Farmer, *Sources* . . . , 44.

²⁰ Steinschneider, *op. cit.*, 148.

²¹ *Beth ozar ha-sipharoth* (Jaroslau, 1887), xxix.

²² *Ibid.*, xxxi.

²³ *Jewish Quarterly Review* (1905), xvii, 561.

²⁴ Farmer, *Sources* . . . , 20, 42.

was also well known in Arab Spain and "was of much value to Jewish authors because of its encyclopaedic presentation of the sciences".²⁵ Mosheh ibn Ezra (d. ca. 1138) quotes from it. Yet it was not until 1314 that it was presented in a Hebrew dress by Qalonymus ben Qalonymus ben Meir of Arles under the title of *Ma'mar be mispar he-hokmath*,²⁶ although Christian Europe had known it in Latin since the twelfth century, when it was translated independently by John of Seville and Gerard of Cremona as *De scientiis*.²⁷

Steinschneider mentions other Jewish tracts on music which have yet to be investigated. One is by Mosheh ben Yoseph Abu'l-'Afiyah (d. 1283), whilst another is by Yizhaq ibn al-Latif (d. ca. 1290).²⁸ He also refers to *Kelalim mi musiqa* in a manuscript in the Jews' College Library (Halberstam 49, fol. 388),²⁹ but there is no such treatise in this manuscript, which only contains 130 folios. Possibly the reference is to a poem on the accents (fol. 88) which has been edited by Halberstam himself in the Hebrew journal *Jeshurun* (v, 123). Steinschneider's mention of a manuscript on music, maybe by Ibn Sina, in Hebrew script, at the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin,³⁰ also deserves investigation.

What is probably an important Jewish contribution to the theory of music, although not in Hebrew or Arabic, is that made by the famous savant Levi ben Gershon (d. 1344), better known as Magister Leo Hebraeus or Gersonides. At the request of the celebrated music theorist, Philip of Vitry, Gersonides wrote a *tractatus armonicus* in the year 1343, the manuscript of which is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.³¹ Coussemaker, who first called attention to this treatise,³² did not include it in his monumental *Scriptores de musica*, although he mentioned it.³³ This might lead one to assume that it was deemed unworthy of a place in his great collection of mediaeval treatises on music. Against this stands the fact that Gersonides had "no equal on earth" in the field of mathematics, and that the work mentioned was written at the bidding of a great music theorist, who was probably prompted to this because he knew that Gersonides would do justice to the subject. Gersonides

²⁵ *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, i, 374.

²⁶ De Rossi, *Mss. cod. hebr.*, Nos. 458, 776.

²⁷ Farmer, *Al-Farabi's Arabic-Latin Writings on Music*, 20-21.

²⁸ *Hebräische Bibliographie*, xiii, 36: xix, 43.

²⁹ *Jewish Quarterly Review*, xvii, 560.

³⁰ *Verzeichnis*, ii, 99.

³¹ *Fonds Colbert*, 7378, A.

³² *Histoire de l'harmonie au Moyen-âge*, 214.

³³ *Scriptores*, iii, x-xi.

also wrote commentaries in Hebrew on Ibn Rushd's commentaries on the works of Aristotle, one of which, *De anima*, dealt with the physics of sound. These commentaries were completed about 1321.

There are also reasons for believing that a treatise by Abu'l-Ṣalt Umayya (d. 1134) was known in Hebrew. In the *Ma'aseh efod* of Profiat Duran, which was written in 1403, there is a quotation from the *Sepher ha-sepheqah* of Abu'l Ṣalt Umayya,³⁴ which is said to deal with music.³⁵ This may have been his *Risala fi'l-musiqa* (Treatise Concerning Music) in a Hebrew dress.³⁶ According to Johann C. Wolf's *Bibliotheca Hebraea* there was a *Libellus de musica* by a certain Amir Abu'l-Ṣalt in the Oratory Library,³⁷ an author who must be identified with Abu'l-Ṣalt Umayya.³⁸

The last treatise on music to be mentioned is one dating from the fifteenth century. It is a Genizah fragment which was published by the late Professor Richard Gottheil in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* (1932). Although written in the Hebrew script, the language of this fragment was Arabic, but, as Gottheil pointed out, there is "absolutely nothing . . . Jewish in it". The editor was unable to trace the author of this fragment, but he showed that the copyist was Sa'id ibn Da'ud al-Yamani, who made the transcript in 1463. I have shown that this copyist was the notorious Jewish author who had circulated the *Maqaṣid al-falasifa* of Al-Ghazali as his own work with the title of *Zakat al-nufus*. In this Genizah fragment Sa'id ibn Da'ud copied verbatim from an Arabic compendium on the sciences and arts known as *Al-durr al-naṣim*, attributed to Ibn al-Akfani (d. 1348), as I have proved elsewhere.³⁹

Although this short survey will confirm the truth of Steinschneider's statement that there are but "very few" Jewish writings on the theory of music, those which have been rescued from oblivion are fewer still. Yet it is to be hoped that opportunities will reveal themselves for the publication of other of these documents. Of course, as Steinschneider has said, such an undertaking would need someone who was not only technically equipped for the work, but who would be prepared to spend years of labour at the task. Surely it would be worth while.

³⁴ Vienna edit. (1865), chap. vi.

³⁵ Steinschneider, *Jew. Lit.*, 337.

³⁶ Farmer, *Sources* . . . , 44.

³⁷ Wolf, iii, 128.

³⁸ Steinschneider, *Die arab. Lit. der Juden*, 316.

³⁹ *Islamic Culture* (1941), 63.

A Plea for Koechlin

BY

W. H. MELLERS

"La génie musicale de la France, c'est quelque chose comme la fantaisie dans la sensibilité."—CLAUDE DEBUSSY.

ALMOST all the important figures in contemporary music have at some time in their careers been dubbed as solitaries, and their isolation is understandable enough: yet the positions of Sibelius, Delius, Roussel and Bloch—to make the more obvious choices—are now secure, and the tardiness of their acceptance came not so much from the remoteness and difficulty of their ways of experience (with the exception perhaps of Sibelius's Fourth Symphony) as from the by now notorious apathy of the musical public. The solitariness of Charles Koechlin in the present day musical world seems, on the other hand, to be more fundamental; at least it is difficult to imagine that he will ever attain even the limited and belated acclamation which has fallen to the lot of the above mentioned composers, and, what is more, he seems completely indifferent to the world's praise or censure since he has never complained or even expressed regret that with one exception all his large-scale works remain unpublished and most of them unperformed. Yet I grow increasingly convinced that Koechlin is among the very select number of contemporary composers who really matter—matters, that is, for the intrinsic distinction of his mind and sensibility, for he has no revolutionary part to play in musical history. His work has none of the notoriety value of a Stravinsky or a Schoenberg: the apathy of the musical public—his lack of an audience apart from a few friends and colleagues—springs not from shock, hostility, or even disapproval, but merely from the failure to recognize distinction which is remote from any attempt at self-advertisement. Not only has Koechlin made no effort to win popular or critical approval, but, furthermore, there is no trace in his music of the "bitterness" which is supposed to afflict the contemporary artist, more particularly when he has no, or is suspicious of, his audience. Although remote, Koechlin's music is of a self-subsistent serenity that is altogether singular in contemporary art, almost the only intimation of "modernity" consisting in a feeling that his fastidiousness is at times so extreme as to become, in the modern world, unreal and almost precious; and this, I think, is a feeling which dissipates on closer acquaintance with the nature and extent of his *œuvre*.

No composer, not even Fauré, Roussel or Satie, is more intensely and completely French than Koechlin; like the two former, although,

as we shall see, in a rather more specialized sense,¹ he is an apostle of French civilization. This remark is not merely a vague reference to the feeling of his music; it has definite technical implications. Perhaps no other composer's idiom has more direct affiliations both with French folk song and with the evolving tradition of French art music, and yet Koehlin has not so much adapted the elements of the past as taken his place, in an entirely personal way, in that great succession, for no composer has an idiom more immediately and strikingly original. A convenient starting-point for the examination of this idiom is the series of easy pieces for the piano, the sonatinas (dedicated to his children), and the *sonatines françaises* for piano duet—none of them work on which his significance rests, but all beautiful and charming, containing some of the fundamentals of his art.

The first and most important feature of these works is that they are music of childhood in so far as they express, like some of Satie's work, an essential innocence, a virginal naïveté of spirit, though without any of Satie's adult, sophisticated, ironic contortion of tonality. The themes themselves are intimately related to the French nursery song and are, save for an occasional "vocal" modalism of flattened-seventh or flattened or (in minor tonalities) sharpened sixth, limpidly diatonic throughout, in lilting rhythms (particularly the six-eight of the children's *ronde*) of an airy dancing movement that remains, though delicately balanced, exquisitely fluid; (the movements are written without regular barring, although the rhythms are never elaborate or congested). The extreme limpidity of the themes is achieved through their symmetry, through the prevalence of conjunct motion mingled with the intervals of fourth and fifth, and through their complete lack of chromaticism—all typical features of French folk-song itself; and this luminous consonance is carried over into the harmonic texture which depends largely on the appropriate placing of the bare fourth, fifth, or (with occasional subtlety) second, and on the deceptive minor cadence of French folk-song. The modulations have an instinctive leaning towards the dominant and sub-dominant props of diatonicism, but they may, since the modal juxtapositions have little respect for the

¹ Koehlin studied under Fauré and was his true disciple in his intense fastidiousness and Frenchness and in his disdain for the crowd; but although Fauré's late works were never popularly accepted or understood their idiom was sufficiently reconcilable with the nineteenth-century idiom of the early compositions for them to be accorded a kind of bemused homage. Fauré was respected as a figure of professional dignity, a hub of French musical life; whereas Koehlin, whose idiom, except in the general direction of being French and fastidious, bears no relation to that of Fauré or to that of any contemporary composer, was ostracized as much by the academic as by the fashionable.

orthodox harmonic copybook, become recondite without losing their tender clarity in so far as they are defined by a fluid contrapuntal movement (*cf.* the first movement of *Sonatine* 3). None of the movements shows any tendency to sonata "architecture": either they are very brief binary dance pieces or else they are contrapuntal and in particular canonic—free extensions of the nursery "catch". In the duet works the only extended movements are fugal or polyphonic, though on dancing folkly rhythms exquisitely cultivated and urbane in effect, the antithesis of the pinchbeck Shropshire Laddery of the rural cult in this country.

I am inclined to think that French folk-song has always been as much more easily assimilated by the "serious" artist as it is less self-subsistent, less richly varied, than English. However this may be, the airiness of the texture in these works invites comparison with the French chansons of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, another sophisticated art which is yet innocent, intimately related to French folk-song, and essentially founded on the consonance of the diatonic triad. Indeed, it might be said that Koechlin has transmuted the spirit of the vocal school of Jannequin or of Claudin de Sermisy or Guillaume de Costeley—perhaps the most fastidiously aristocratic composers in an age of French musical aristocracy—into terms of the keyboard, for the piano writing, usually in two or three parts, has a lovely translucence which in sonorous effect is closer to French sixteenth century vocal writing than to anything usually intimated by the phrase "keyboard technique". Hardly is it an influence at all; rather a mode of feeling miraculously reborn, and in a different medium. The following quotations will illustrate all these qualities—the radiant diatonicism, the delicate consonance of the harmony, the reticent poetry of the poised yet flowing rhythms, the effect of sunlit distance:





Very occasionally there is a simultaneous merging of unrelated diatonic triads which presages an aspect of the technique of the larger works:



but although they have a subtlety that yields its secret only after intensive acquaintance these are works so immediately attractive and charming that nothing, surely, can prejudice their popular acceptance except the fact that pianists never play them, presumably because they offer no spectacular appeal. The childlike integrity of the vision is important because I think it is only through some such quality that music so serenely innocent could have been written in the twentieth century. If you like, it is an intentional exclusiveness: but it is not an "escape".

These little pieces are more important for what they tell us about

Koechlin than intrinsically. Certainly we could not proceed to the study of Koechlin's representative work without having referred to them as a statement of certain fundamentals. Another published piano work, the *Paysages et Marines*, provides an approach to the mature idiom, so we must examine this music in some detail.

If there is no excuse for the neglect of the sonatinas, one must admit that the *Paysages et Marines* are undeniably difficult and inaccessible. Familiarity has gradually convinced me that they are among the few outstanding piano works of our time. As an introduction one might point out that Koechlin is a musicologist of considerable learning, and that mediaeval music, particularly that of France, is among his chief enthusiasms. To the diatonic French tonal feeling already noticed is now added a plasticity and freedom of line and a fluid polymodality which has some relation to mediaeval music (the most extreme example is *Le Chevrier*); and this is accompanied by an extension of harmonic resource which, however polyharmonic, none the less preserves its root in the absolute consonances. Throughout this music the atmospheric effect still owes much of its luminosity and serenity to flowing, calm figures founded on conjunct motion and on the intervals of fourth and fifth and the almost complete avoidance of chromaticism: but now the lines have often no clearly defined tonal centre, or they may have several such centres at once, as they become much longer and more plastic; the counterpoint becomes curiously hollow, even heterophonic, on a basis of fourths and fifths, and sometimes the lines are doubled in fourths or fifths or tripled in major or minor triads, as in organum, only in more than one part simultaneously, producing extremely dissonant clashes between chords that are in themselves almost always fundamental consonances. Two superimposed fifths or fourths (creating natural ninths or sevenths) often move in parallel motion to augment the effect of melting radiance not by their dissonance but by a more expansive conception of consonance. This civilized, Machaut-like "mediaeval" element is, of course, not archaistic: but it gives to this French-founded music a European cultivation which can be found also in some of the work of Roussel, but which is lacking in the very beautiful but relatively more restricted, local and topical modality and organum of Vaughan Williams's *Pastoral* Symphony. A somewhat lengthy quotation from *Soir d'Ete* will illustrate how the "vocal" nature of the themes, their modal and rhythmic plasticity, the fluid dissonance of the mingling organum effects and consonant harmonies, and the

hollowness of the polyphony, give to the music a peculiarly transfigured, rarefied atmosphere:

The musical score consists of four systems of staves. The first system is marked *Adagio* and *pp*, with a *crescendo* marking. The second system is marked *8va*, *très contenu*, and *loco*, with a *presque f* marking. The third system is marked *pp* and *doux et lumineux*. The fourth system is marked *ppp mais clair etc.*

The serenity of the children's pieces is still there, but it has lost its warmth and smiling quietude; its pastoral lyricism has become more tenuous as it has become a more completely adult (and therefore difficult) experience. But it is remarkable that even where the polyharmonic combinations of chords become most abstruse, as in this quotation from *Paysage d'Octobre*:

The musical score consists of a single system of staves, marked *pp*, showing complex polyharmonic combinations of chords.

the effect of consonance is never entirely relinquished because, so consummate is the placing of the chords on the keyboard that it

remains possible to hear the components on, as it were, more than one plane simultaneously. Even the very rare and exceptional appearance of the sensuous diminished seventh chord earlier in this piece, and the occasional use of the static, "Debussyan" ninth in (for instance) *Poème Virgilien* or in the ravishing closing section of *Chanson des Pommiers*, acquire, within the characteristic texture, an unusually impersonal clarity. Indeed, the harmony, like the polyphony, always remains closer in spirit to the linear idiom of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries than to the advanced chromaticisms of the nineteenth, "poetical" though the atmosphere may be (the *Chant de Pêcheur*, one of the typical triplet *ronde français* melodies, contains some astonishingly uncompromising passages in parallel fourths and, finally, seconds). I know of no music more unearthly in atmosphere; that more implies, "atmospheric" though it is, the relinquishment of the senses. With one ambiguous exception all the pieces are in slow tempo and fortes are rare; to listen to the pieces in sequence (which is how they should be played) is so oddly disturbing (if perhaps enervating) an experience that no question of monotony of mood is involved.

Two other published piano works—the 24 *Esquisses* and the 12 *Pastorales*—reconcile two manners—the gentle warmth and nursery-tune melodic naïveté of the sonatinas with something of the mediaeval-seeming spirituality, the fluid modality, the extremely plastic rhythms and the superimposed harmonies of the *Paysages et Marines*. Some of the pieces are lucidly diatonic, but with rather more sophisticated (even delicately chromatic) harmonies than in the sonatines (cf. most of the pieces in the first set of *Esquisses*); others are as simply modal as an early French carol (cf. No. 5 from the first set of *Esquisses*); others again are as free in both their tonal transitions and rhythms and as recondite in their harmonic juxtapositions as anything in the *Paysages*, though the texture generally remains lighter (cf. most of the *Pastorales* and all the slow pieces in the second book of *Esquisses*). Although less remarkable than the *Paysages et Marines*, these are compositions of great beauty and distinction, and are perhaps in a sense more representative in that the reconciliation of tendencies (which were never, of course, essentially disparate) that Koechlin here effects in a slight fashion is to be found in a much more significant form in his large-scale compositions—those on which his importance rests. It is the application of this technique to the big works that we have now to consider.

Of these compositions, only one—the violin and piano sonata—

is published, but that is an entirely representative instance, sufficient to establish both the mastery and complete originality of Koechlin's idiom. None of the movements is in "dramatic" sonata form, the whole work being relatively melodic and polyphonic. It begins with a shortish slow movement, "*calme, lumineux et féérique*". The opening will indicate the characteristic beauty of the themes, long, flowing, non-chromatic, built on conjunct motion combined with fourths and fifths, the glowing radiance of the harmonic structure, with its clear major triads and superimposed perfect consonances:



The movement develops in an entirely linear fashion, the texture becoming increasingly polymodal, with organum effects in the middle parts. But despite the polyharmonies and the extremely fluid tonal extensions of the line—of which the following is representative:



—the atmosphere of paradisaical calm is preserved throughout. This movement is remarkable not only for the beauty of its linear substance, but as a unique experiment in tonal balance—though perhaps the two aspects are hardly separable. It is certain that never before has the apparently crude combination of violin and modern concert grand attained quite this aethereal unworldly appositeness. It is extremely difficult to play.

This originality of sonorous quality dominates the second movement also—a long scherzo. The themes—of the triplet *ronde* type—are hinted at only very tentatively in the midst of some strange pentatonic arabesques and muted trills on the violin and fluttering pianissimo arpeggios in fourths on the piano, sometimes accompanied by bare fifths harmonically unrelated. The texture of the writing for both instruments is tremulous and shimmering, and the main theme, when eventually it emerges, is unexpectedly warm, supple and caressing (see violin part of quotation below). Extensive developments of this theme are melodic and polyphonic rather than thematic, pliant lyrical phrases continually generating variations of rhythm and modality. The increased richness of the tonal transitions and harmonic texture at the climaxes—still founded largely on superimposed fourths and fifths—is indicated in the following quotation:



The lyricism finally quivers away in some whispered trills for the violin and scurrying arpeggio triads for the piano, followed by a reference to the opening in crystalline unison writing and two bare fifths in the topmost registers of the keyboard.

The slow movement is entirely in the manner of the *Paysages et Marines*, with the addition, of course, of an extended lyrical part—a restrained soaring meditation—for the violin. The final section may be quoted because of its exquisite organum effect in superimposed

fifths, the loveliness of the line, and the moving clarity of the placing of the diatonic triads:

Très lent *Pas trop lent*

pp *pp soutenu*

With the finale we come to the longest and most important movement, an elaborately polyphonic rondo. The main theme, reminiscent of a French dance tune, is stated immediately accompanied by bare fifths; the first episode is a free polyphonic passage that has distinct affinities with the polyphony of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries:

Main Theme:

Episode:

ppp très unis *etc.*

Conjunct motion and a suave vocal disposition of the intervals prevail, but the tonalities grow increasingly ambiguous and plastic

as all the material is extended and developed with much canonic complication and at considerable length. The following may be quoted as an example of the texture at the climaxes—again a completely original treatment of the piano-violin combination, though one very difficult to perform convincingly:



Some hint of the technique of lyrical generation in the violin line is given here; and in general the method of development is a polymodal and polyharmonic extension of free fifteenth century polyphony, into the interweaving of which contrapuntal references to the original symmetrical dance tune are repeatedly interjected.

After a series of canonic strettis in elliptical tonalities there is a long tumultuous coda over whirling arpeggio fifths, the tonality of B major is reinstated (the movement had opened in D, the relative major of B minor), and the work finds its peroration in a *large* statement of the main melody over resonant diatonic triads, sometimes with added seconds. It is remarkable that although the sonorous power of parts of the movement, especially the close, is immense, the impression of luminosity and clarity remains because, for all the modal ambiguities and polyharmonies, the absolute and perfect consonances are still the roots of the tonal structure. The music gives a sensation of intensely white light, and the writing for the instruments is unique and entirely beautiful, provided that the performers are of sufficiently rarefied spiritual, as well as technical, accomplishment.

None of Koechlin's other major works is published, so I cannot discuss them in any detail. The chamber works include sonatas for cello, viola, oboe, clarinet, flute, bassoon and horn, all with piano. The flute sonata, though naturally slighter than the violin work, manifests the same mastery of sonorous quality, the same

personal luminosity; the horn work is one of the loveliest incarnations of this beautiful instrument—so congenial to Koechlin's characteristic sonority—in existence, and ought to be published if only because the repertoire for the horn is so scanty. The other sonatas I have never heard.

Koechlin has also composed a quintet for piano and strings, a sonata for two unaccompanied flutes, and three string quartets in his suave brand of mediaeval-seeming polyphony. There are a number of unpublished piano works, including a *Ballade*, and a considerable number of songs. For orchestra his works include *Les Saisons*, *La Forêt*, *Etudes Antiques*, *Chant Funèbre à la mémoire des jeunes femmes défunctes*, two ballets, *La Forêt Païenne* and *La Divine Vesper*, and a long and elaborate suite called *Les Heures Persanes*; none of these have I seen or heard. But his masterpiece would seem to be an enormous semi-mystical creation, *L'Abbaye*, for chorus, orchestra and organ, of which the second and more important part is still, I believe, unperformed. The long fluid "vocal" lines and polyphony, the lucid polyharmonies, the superimposed fourths and fifths which gave to the *Paysages* and the violin sonata their rarefied spirituality are here explored with still greater depth and nobility and the cold, yet sweetly glowing quality of Koechlin's orchestration is without precedent in musical history. With only a scanty knowledge of the first part of the work, I would be prepared to maintain that, although isolated and remote from the main growth of European music, *L'Abbaye* is one of the few masterpieces of the twentieth century, but I'm afraid it is one that is never likely to be widely performed.

This, perhaps, prompts the query whether the rarity and distinction of Koechlin's mind does not imply a deficiency in what we ordinarily call "humanity". It is true that his spirituality and serenity have not the centrality of Palestrina's or the vigour of Bach's—that *relatively* they seem "personal" and even precious—but those are hardly comparisons that any contemporary artist could stand up to. Certainly he seems limited compared with the best of Fauré, Sibelius or Bartók: but not so limited as the complete unwillingness of the "majority" to listen to him might lead one to believe. His work has been misunderstood mainly because it is so incompletely known. The piano *sonatines*, though representative of some of the fundamentals of his art, give no notion of the profoundly transfigured complexity of the *Paysages et Marines*; and these in turn do not adequately indicate the range and force that may be embraced within similar "visionary" experiences in the

large-scale works such as the violin sonata, not to mention the orchestral works and *L'Abbaye*.² If the violin sonata really is too fastidiously cultivated to be comprehensible to musical people to-day one can only say, so much the worse for the people: it is hardly Koechlin's fault. Whatever his final position may be—and we cannot hope to assess it while most of his big works remain unpublished and unperformed—he is certainly among the very select number of contemporary composers who have added an original language to musical history; and, as part of that language, apposite only to his peculiar purposes, he has created a personal *timbre*—a mastery of the stuff of sound—which has a nostalgic purity that is without precedent. It is because his music preserves, however elaborately polyphonic and polyharmonic it may grow, something of vocal limpidity both in its French lines and harmonies that it has an emotional tenor so entirely consistent and of such virginal charm. However profound, it is never self-consciously soulful; however light and airy, it is never (like so much twentieth-century French music) knowingly witty. It is a mode of apprehending, both spiritual and *spirituel*; this is why, for those willing to listen, its essential innocence may provide at times a source of refreshment which other contemporary composers, even the greater ones, cannot offer. If the serenity of its innocence implies, unlike the dismay of the innocence of Satie, a withdrawal from the world of the present day, at least one cannot claim that it is the world that has the right to pity.

² This should not be taken as a chronological distinction nor as an indication that either the sonatinas or the *Paysages* are in any way "immature". Koechlin allows his imagination to function on, as it were, several different levels, but in each case the clarity of the realization is masterly. With the exception of a few very early and quite uncharacteristic songs, all the music of Koechlin which is known to me is of consummate maturity, though it must be admitted that I am really familiar with his work only after opus 59. The chronology of his music is anyway extremely obscure. The first part of *L'Abbaye* is numbered opus 16 and the piano *Esquisses* opus 41. The piano sonatinas, the *Paysages et Marines*, the various sonatas, the quartets and quintet extend intermittently from opus 55 to 82. None of the recognized encyclopædias sheds any light on the very numerous missing quantities, after allowing for the few orchestral works mentioned in this article; it hardly seems probable that they are all compositions which Koechlin disowns or has destroyed. The complete ignorance of Koechlin's later songs, written after he had evolved his personal manner, is particularly regrettable, since one would expect his mastery of this medium to be uniquely beautiful, and the economic objections that might be urged against performance of *L'Abbaye* or *Les Heures Persanes* certainly would not apply in this case.

National Anthems

COMPILED BY

D. R. WAKELING AND G. DE FRAINE

KARL ENGEL in his *Introduction to the study of national music*, writing of national hymns, remarks that "a collection of all the celebrated composition of this class, with historical notices, would undoubtedly be interesting." It is safe to assert that a complete collection of this description has never been published, and even modest collections are relatively scarce and the majority out of print. Unfortunately, the course of history would render a complete collection quickly out of date, especially if the old Turkish custom of creating a new anthem for each successive Sultan was re-established. However, if the Communist's dream of world domination is ever realized the vexed question of National Anthems will be solved for ever by the "Internationale".

Here an attempt has been made to collect together the titles, with an English version, of the official National Anthems or Airs of every nation, country and state, past and present, of which the compilers have been able to gather any information. In addition to the titles, some or all of the following particulars are included under each entry:

- (i) The opening bars of the melody.
- (ii) The author of the words and the date written.
- (iii) The composer of the music and the date composed.
- (iv) Some historical or interesting notes.
- (v) Any previous or alternative anthems used.
- (vi) Similar particulars of previous or alternative anthems.
- (vii) A reference as to where the words, music or both may be found. (Printed in italics.)

In cases where more than one anthem has been noted the first-named is the latest recognized official anthem of the nation, country or state specified. Occasionally it was found that the authorities consulted were unable to agree as to the rightful claimant; in such cases the compilers have chosen the anthem given in the list contained in *Der grosse Brockhaus*, unless more up-to-date information has been received. The English versions of the first lines are, wherever possible, those given in the authorities listed; a few, however, are quoted from other sources, and the remainder supplied

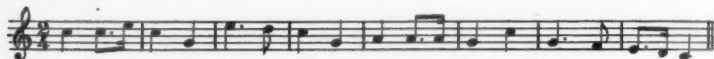
by the compilers. The choruses of some National Anthems, especially those of several of the South American Republics, have become better known than the rest of the text, and in these instances the first line of both the chorus and the first verse has been given. The references as to where the music, words or both may be found could be considerably augmented. A list of abbreviations used and some of the authorities consulted is added.

The futility of making numerous enquiries in foreign countries during these troublous times is readily understood; indeed, it was found difficult to obtain replies from certain Embassies in this country. Had peace-time facilities been available during the compilation of this list the task of the compilers would have been easier and the result probably of greater value.

Members of the staffs of some of the Foreign Embassies, Dominion Offices and the Cambridge University Library have been helpful in providing information. Among others who have given freely of their valuable help and advice must be mentioned Prof. O. E. Deutsch, Mr. Paul Hirsch and Dr. Martha Vidor. To all of these the compilers, while absolving them from responsibility for any errors, would like to express their warmest appreciation.

Finally, any additions or corrections would be welcomed, so that even if it is not yet possible to reproduce all the music and texts with historical notices, a complete list of this class of music may be available as a guide and help to the publisher who cherishes the aspiration of preserving for posterity what, in the not too distant future, may well become musical and literary curiosities.

ABYSSINIA



Etiopia hoy, des yibalish (Ethiopia hail, rejoice).

Words: A group of learned Ethiopians. 1930. Music: M. K. Nalbandian. 1925.

The composer, an Armenian, was bandmaster of the Imperial Guard in Addis Ababa.

ARGENTINE



Oid, mortales, el grito sagrado Libertad.
(Mortals, hear the sacred cry Freedom.)

Words: Vicente López y Planes. 1813. Music: José Blas Parera.

By order of the Constitutional Assembly of the Rio de la Plata, the National Anthem was written by V. López y Planes in 1813 and officially adopted in May of that year. It consists of 18 verses and a chorus, but in order to avoid arousing past hatreds only the first and last verses and chorus are now sung.

(E.U.I., Gautier.)

AUSTRALIA



Advance Australia fair.

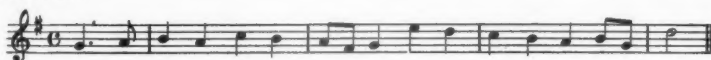
Words: "Amicus." Music: "Amicus".

(Shaw, Haslam.)

The semi-official National Anthem is said to be "Australia will be there".

This is one of the cases where the authorities differ. Replying to an enquiry the Official Secretary, Australia House, wrote on 11th October, 1940:—"Although these songs are very well known in Australia, they cannot be regarded as National Anthems. No National Anthem has been adopted in Australia other than the National Anthem of Great Britain".

AUSTRIA



Österreichische Bundeshymne. (Title.)

Sei gesegnet ohne Ende (Be blessed without end). (1st line.)

Words: Ottokar Kernstock. Music: F. J. Haydn. 1797.

(Rousseau.)

Proclaimed officially as national hymn on 13th December, 1929. Karl Komzak's instrumentation was authorized.

First published in 1930. The following was used from about 1920:

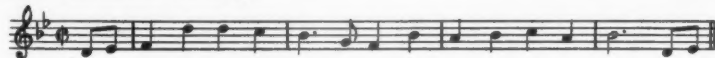
Deutsch-Oesterreich, du herrliches Land, wir lieben dich.

(O Austria, thou glorious land, the land we love.)

Words: Dr. Karl Renner. Music: Wilhelm Kienzl. 1920.

An English translation by T. W. Rolleston of the above appeared in the *Times Lit. Suppl.* 24th June, 1920.

During the time of Dollfuss and Schuschnigg it was compulsory to sing the "Party" song after the National Anthem and the "Lied der Jugend" was sung, just as the "Horst Wessel Lied" is now sung in Germany and the "Giovinezza" in Italy.



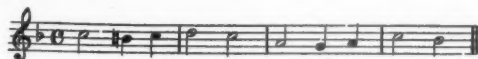
Lied der Jugend (Song of Youth). (Title.)

Ihr Jungen schliesst die Reihen gut. (1st line.)

(Boys! Close well the ranks.)

Words: Hermann Leopoldi. About 1933. Music: Hermann Leopoldi.

BULGARIA



Shoumi Maritza (The bubbling Maritza).

Words: Mareček. Music: Gabriel Šebek.

There was a later version written by N. Zivkov.

(Rousseau.)

CANADA



The Maple leaf for ever. (*Title.*)

In days of yore, from Britain's shore. (*1st line.*)

Words: Alexander Muir. 1867. Music: Alexander Muir. 1867.

(Piggott.)

Also sung:



O Canada! Terre de nos aïeux (O Canada! Our home and native land).

Words: (French) Sir A. B. Routhier. 1880. Transl. by R. S. Weir. 1908. Music: C. Lavallée.

(Piggott.)

CHILE



Dulce patria, recibe los votos. (*Chorus.*)

(Sweet Fatherland, receive the vows.)

Ha cesado la lucha sangrienta. (*1st line.*)

(The bloody struggle is over.)

Words: Eusebio Lillo. 1847. Music: Ramón Carnicer. 1828.

The words were originally written in 1819 by B. de Vera y Pintado and modified after the peace treaty of 1847 by E. Lillo. The melody is that of a former national hymn by the same composer.

(E.U.I., Gautier.)

CHINA



Tsung-kuoh hiung li jüh dschou tiän.

(The Middle Kingdom stands like a hero in the universe.)

Words: Unknown. Music: Unknown. Originated in 1912.

(Gautier.)

Also sung:

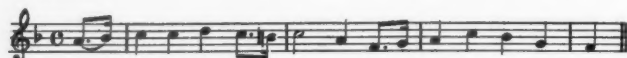
The Song of Kuomintang. (*Title.*)

"San-min-chu-i" wu tang so tsung. (*1st line.*)

(The "Three principles of Democracy" our party does revere.)

"The three principles of Democracy" formed the authoritative work of Sun Yat-Sen on the National Party's (Kuo-min-tang) Programme (1924).

COLUMBIA



Oh! Gloria inmarcesible (Oh! Unfading glory). (*Chorus.*)

Cesó la horrible Noche,—la libertad sublime. (*1st line.*)

(The dreadful night has passed,—freedom the sublime.)

Words: Rafael Núñez. Music: Orestes Sindici.

Sung for the first time about 1905.

(*E.U.I.*)

COSTA RICA



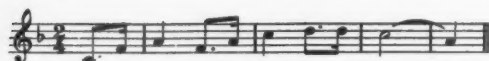
Noble patria, tu hermosa bandera.

(Noble Fatherland, your beautiful banner.)

Words: José M. Zeledón. Music: Manuel M. Gutiérrez. 1821.

(*E.U.I.*)

CUBA



Himno Bayamés (Bayamo hymn). (*Title.*)

Al combate corred bayameses. (*1st line.*)

(Men of Bayamo hasten to the fight.)

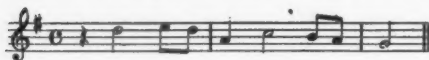
Words: Pedro Figueredo. Music: Pedro Figueredo.

Sung for the first time in 1868. Out of consideration for Spain, the first two verses only are now sung.

(*E.U.I.*)

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The Staatshymne combines the Czech national hymn:



Kde domov můj (Where is my native land).

Words: J. K. Tyl. Music: Fr. Skroup. 1834.

(*Bohn, Weninger.*)

And the Slovak folk song:



Nad Tatrou sa blyska (Lightning above the mountains).

Words: Janko Matúška. 1844. Music: Traditional.

(Weninger.)

The Staatshymne was officially recognized in 1919. "Nad Tatrou sa blyska" commemorates the exodus of Slovak students from Pressburg, 1843.

DENMARK



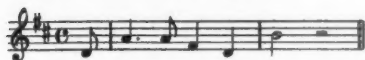
Kong Kristian stod ved højen mast.
(King Christian stood beside the mast.)

Words: J. Ewald. Music: J. E. Hartmann. (A German settled in Copenhagen, 1768.)

Hartmann introduced the song "Kong Kristian . . ." into his operetta "Fiskerne," and it soon became popular all over Denmark.

(Rousseau.)

Also used in recent years:



Der er et yndigt land (That is a pleasant land).

Words: Adam Oehlenschläger. Music: H. E. Krøyer.

And:



Dengang jeg drog afsted (When I was ordered to march).

Words: F. Faber. Music: J. O. E. Hornemann.

(Bohn.)

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC



Quisqueyanos valientes, alcemos (Brave men of Quisqueya, let us hoist).

Words: Emilio Prud'homme. Music: José Reyes.

Sung as National Hymn in 1900.

(E.U.I.)

ECUADOR



Salve! Oh patria! mil veces; Oh patria! (*Chorus.*)
 (Hail! Oh Fatherland! a thousand times; Oh Fatherland!)
 Indignados tus hijos del yugo. (*1st line.*)
 (Your sons angered by the yoke.)

Words: Juan León Mera. Music: Antonio Neumann.

Recognized as National Hymn in 1866.

(*E.U.I.*)

EGYPT



An instrumental march.

In answer to an enquiry, the Royal Egyptian Embassy in London states that this is the officially recognized National Anthem. Their reply, dated 19th August, 1940, further states "... There were originally no words, but the Arabic Music Institution has lately set words to the music and we are expecting to receive them shortly. The Anthem was composed by Verdi." (The words were not to hand at the time of going to press.)

(*Gautier, Rousseau.*)

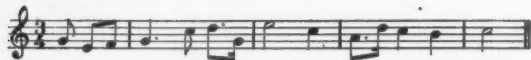
It is interesting to note that *Rousseau* sets the following words to the above music:

Ha ni an bé au da ti samil ma kam.
 (Joyeux sont les fils de l'antique Egypte.)

Gautier and *E.U.I.* give the following as the National Anthem, but without further particulars:



ESTHONIA



Mu isamaa, mu õnn ja rõõn (My Fatherland).

Words: J. Jannsen. 1865 Music: Fred. Pacius. 1848.

The music is the same as the Finnish National Anthem. First acknowledged as National Hymn 1917-18.

ETHIOPIA. See ABYSSINIA

FINLAND



Maamme (Our Land). (*Title.*)

Oi maamme suomi synnyiumaa. (*1st line.*)

Swedish words:—Vart land, vart land, vart foster land.

(Our land, our land, our Fatherland.)

Words: J. L. Runeberg. 1843. Music: Fred. Pacius. 1848.

(*Rousseau.*)

FRANCE



The Marseillaise. (*Title.*)

Allons enfants de la patrie . . . (*1st line.*)

(O come, ye sons of France our motherland.)

Words: Rouget de Lisle. 25th April, 1792 Music: Rouget de Lisle.

The history of the Marseillaise is well-known and may be read elsewhere. It is well to note, perhaps, in this list that stanza 7 is of uncertain authorship, and was added some months later.

(*Rousseau.*)

The Marseillaise was superseded for a time during the reign of Napoleon III by:



Partant pour la Syrie (Departing for Syria).

Words: Count Alex. de Laborde. Music: Queen Hortense (wife of Louis Napoleon) and/or Louis Drouet, a Dutchman.

Although the music has been ascribed to Queen Hortense, it is now thought that it was largely the work of L. Drouet.

(*Hortense, Bohn.*)

GERMANY



Deutschland, Deutschland über alles (Germany before everything).

Words: H. A. Hoffmann von Fallersleben. 26th July, 1841. Music: F. J. Haydn. 1797. Authorized 11th August, 1922.

(*Piggott, Wolff.*)

Before 1866:

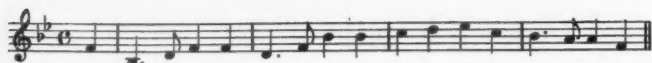


Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland? (What is the German's Fatherland?)

Words: E. M. Arndt. 1813. Music: Johannes Cotta. 1813. Another setting by G. Reichardt. 1826.

(Gautier, Wolff.)

During the war of 1870 the following national song was regarded almost as the National Anthem:



Die Wacht am Rhein (The watch on the Rhine). (Title.)

Es braust ein Ruf wie Donnerhall. (1st line.)

(Like pealing thunder breaks a cry.)

Words: M. Schneckenburger. 1840. Music: Carl Wilhelm. 1854.

(Gautier, Wolff.)

Up to 1922:



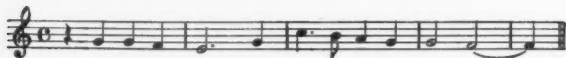
Heil dir im Siegerkranz (Hail thou with victor's crown).

Words: Heinrich Harries. 1790. Adapted by B. G. Schumacher. 1793.
Music: "God save the King."

The words, by Harries, originally in 11 stanzas, were modified and adapted by Schumacher. First sung in public in 1796 at the National Theatre, Berlin.

(Rousseau, Wolff.)

From 1933 onwards:



Horst Wessel Lied (Horst Wessel Song). (Title.)

Die Fahne hoch, die Reihen dicht geschlossen. (1st line.)

(The banner high, the ranks thickly closed.)

Words: Horst Wessel (1907-1930). Music: Unknown.

Although "Deutschland, Deutschland . . ." remains the National Anthem, the Horst Wessel Lied is the official song of the "Nazi" Party and is usually sung after the National Anthem. The tune is that of a music-hall song popular amongst the troops in 1914. It is said that this tune was sung, with other words (of a very coarse nature), by sailors in the Hambourg dock-side public houses before 1914.

Egon Larsen, in *Die Zeitung*, 8th May, 1941, states that the melody used for the "Horst Wessel Lied" is the same as that used in an old Bohemian comic song, the words of which ran as follows:

In Tschaslau lebte einst ein Schneider,
Der war die Zierde seiner Profession:
Er nähte allen Leuten Kleider
Und war kathol'scher Konfession.

GREAT BRITAIN



God save the King.

Words: Unknown. Music: Unknown.

The tune has been assigned to T. A. Arne, to John Bull, to Henry Carey and to James Oswald, but probably evolved earlier from some old folk-song. Scholes, in his "Oxford Companion to Music," suggests that the present words are a cento of familiar loyal phrases. First printed in *Thesaurus musicus*, 1744. Supposed first public performance of the complete song 28th September, 1745. The air was adopted by the following countries: Germany (Heil dir . . .), America (My country . . .), Russia, Sweden, Switzerland and Lichtenstein.

(Piggott, Rousseau.)

GREECE



Se gnōrizō apo tēn kōpsi tu spatjiu ten tromerē.

(Yes I know thee by the lightning of thy tyrant-slaying glaive.)

Words: Dionysius Solomos. 1823. Music: N. Mántzarios.

Chosen as National Anthem by King George I.

Although written in 1823 it was not until 1863, after the dethronement of Otho, that it was canonized as the national hymn and its first two stanzas (the complete poem consists of 158 stanzas) sung to Mántzario's jigging air, adopted as the anthem of Greece.

(Rousseau.)

GUATEMALA



Guatemala feliz! . . . ya tus aras.

(Happy Guatemala! . . . already your altars.)

Words: J. J. Palma. Music: Rafael Alvarez.

(E.U.I.)

HAITI



La Dessalinene. (Title.)

Pour le pays, pour les ancêtres. (1st line.)

(For our land, for our ancestors.)

Words: Justin Lhérisson. Music: Nicolas Geffard.

Composed in 1903, for the centenary of national independence.

(E.U.I.)

To be continued.

Obituary

Felix Weingartner

BY

EDWIN EVANS

To us of this generation the passing of Weingartner means more than the loss of a great conductor. It is the end of a chapter which began with Richter (if not with von Bülow), and included Levi, Schuch, Seidl, Steinbach, Mottl, Nikisch and many another well-remembered figure. The relation of these conductors to those of the present day may bear comparison with that of the classics to the romantic composers, but the analogy is not complete, for Nikisch, who did so much to raise the standard of orchestral performance and spread its appreciation, was essentially a romantic conductor—sometimes embarrassingly so for those who had to play under his baton—but Weingartner, his junior by eight years, was wholly and convincingly classical. These men of the generation that has passed into history found orchestral playing in a bad state, under conductors who inclined to the mechanical when they were conscientious, but were more often perfunctory and lacking in authority. There were, of course, exceptions, but perhaps not resolute enough, certainly not powerful enough, to affect the general level. If orchestral playing to-day is one of the outstandingly efficient branches of musicianship it is largely due to these men who set a high standard, based on close study, intimate knowledge and aesthetic idealism, and maintained it without compromise. Among them the name of Weingartner will always stand high.

Felix Weingartner was born on June 2nd, 1863, at Zara, in Dalmatia. The family was one of the many hereditarily associated with the Austrian Civil Service, and had been ennobled in the person of the conductor's great-grandfather, who was Director of the Mint in Vienna. He was thus entitled to the particle "von", and his mother attached much importance to it but, contrary to her wishes, he did not allow it to appear on any of his publications, musical or literary, nor did he otherwise make use of it, though Austrian and German etiquette frequently included it, willy nilly, in his name. But why Riemann should refer to him as Edler von Münzberg is not clear. It is one of the milder ironies of recent history that, the Treaty of Rapallo having made Zara an Italian city, the plate affixed to the house in which he was born should bear an inscription in Italian, in which he is named Felice de Weingartner. It would have taken more than an international treaty to make an Italian of Felix Weingartner. Before he was five years old his father died, and soon afterwards the family, now in reduced circumstances, migrated to Graz, to be near relatives. There, at the age of ten, he studied with Dr. Wilhelm Mayer, a former Director of the Styrian Musical Society, whose compositions are signed W. A. Rémy, and whose other pupils included Wilhelm Kienzl, composer of *Der Evangelimann*. The associations thus formed, which were to endure, became the foundation of Weingartner's

career. Whilst still at Graz he wrote his first compositions, *Sketches* for piano solo, and was fortunate in having them immediately accepted for publication. Apart from the gratification he felt, this was of much use in convincing others that music was his true vocation.

In 1881 he went to Leipzig to attend the University, and happened by chance to rent a room which had once been occupied by Goethe, a circumstance which made a strong appeal to his imagination, and may even have helped to kindle his literary ambitions, for he was at all times susceptible to omens and portents. Meanwhile he had decided to concentrate his efforts on becoming a conductor, and by 1884 had made sufficient progress to obtain his first engagement at Koenigsberg. It was followed by others at Danzig, 1885-7; Hamburg, 1887-9; and Mannheim, 1889-91. He was then appointed, on flattering terms, to the Opera at Berlin, where he also conducted the symphony concerts of the Royal Orchestra. This was the real beginning of his rise to fame, but also of his troubles, though an earlier incident at Koenigsberg had already opened his eyes to the unpleasant side of professional life in Germany, where no musician could hope to rise to such a position as Weingartner's, or even to maintain it when acquired, without encountering constant petty annoyances and disloyalties due to the intense competition. In his book, *Buffets and Rewards*, he dwells upon such incidents perhaps more than they deserve, and it is possible that experience bred in his sensitive temperament a mild form of persecution mania which led him sometimes to attribute to personal malice incidents which could be otherwise explained. His case was complicated by the fact that he had great ambitions as a composer, and in Germany the conductor-composer presents a delicate problem. Those who seek to shine in both callings are *ipso facto* open to the suspicion, whether well-founded or not, of abusing any influence gained in one capacity as a means of furthering their interests in the other, and thus narrowing the field of opportunity for composers who are not conductors. It should be noted that, apart from one experience with a South American agent, Weingartner received all his alleged "Buffets" in Central Europe. Of the English-speaking world in general, and of his treatment in this country in particular, he has nothing but good to say in his *Memoirs*. During the past sixty or seventy years music in Germany became progressively commercialized, not to say industrialized, and under such conditions "pull devil, pull baker" became an almost chronic state of affairs even in the highest ranks of the profession. Thus many of Weingartner's accusations may well have been justified, but one would hesitate to take all of them *au pied de la lettre*.

He remained at the Berlin Opera until 1898, when he relinquished his post, retaining, however, the conductorship of the symphony concerts. In that year his engagements began to take him further afield than previously. He paid his first visit to this country in May, 1898, and, except during intervals due to other than musical causes, was ever after a frequent and welcome "guest conductor" in our concert world. That same year saw also the first of his many visits to Russia, which were not terminated by the Revolution. He took up his residence at Munich, conducting the Kaim Orchestra there and on tour until it was disbanded. In the winter of 1904-5 he paid his first visit to the United States. In 1907 he succeeded Mahler at the Vienna Court Opera, in deference to which he gave up the Berlin symphony concerts. That he should have to record a recrudescence of

intrigues of one kind or another is not altogether surprising, for partisanship in musical affairs ran notoriously high in the Austrian capital both before and after the last war. His connection with the Opera did not last long on this first occasion, though here, as in Berlin, he retained the symphony concerts, but after nearly a quarter of a century it was resumed in the last few years of his life. From this point it becomes unnecessary to follow in detail Weingartner's triumphant career as a conductor of unquestioned eminence travelling throughout the world of music. In England he appeared frequently with the Royal Philharmonic Society, the London Symphony Orchestra and the Scottish Orchestra. In America he toured with the New York Symphony Orchestra, and conducted opera at Boston. In Central Europe he won further successes, notably at Hamburg and at Darmstadt, before the last war, during which he continued to be much in demand.

It is perhaps not irrelevant to recall at this point that he then received from the Mayor of Berlin a telegram which ran thus: "Your signature urgently desired for protest by German intellectuals in neutral press against foreign lies. Haste imperative. Please dispense with scrutiny of text. Wire reply." With this request he complied, thinking it not unreasonable. It turned out to be the notorious manifesto of the German intellectuals. Probably many of the other signatures were obtained by the same misrepresentation, but whereas these intellectuals waited until 1920 to disavow the document, Weingartner repudiated his signature in 1917, when it was still dangerous to do so. When the Kaiser fled to Holland he wrote and composed a *Song of Freedom*, and in May, 1919, he contributed to a Viennese journal two articles of so outspoken a nature that in Berlin they were construed as an attack on Germany, and became a pretext for renewed intrigues on his reappearance there. Such incidents have only a shadowy importance to-day, but still one likes to remember that, like many other Austrians, Weingartner perforce accepted the situation, but retained a sturdy independence in his beliefs and sentiments, and the welcome that awaited him on his reappearance in England and America was fully justified. Since then he resumed his nomadic life, but eventually settled at Bâle as conductor, as Principal of the Conservatoire, and as leader of the musical life of the city. It was here that in 1933 he celebrated his seventieth birthday with a great Beethoven Festival. Two years later, as already stated, he became again associated with the Vienna State Opera. Thus he, an Austrian, served that unhappy country to the very eve of its submergence.

It is not easy to summarize what it was that made Weingartner's conducting so distinctive, but two features call for special mention. He proved by his own example that economy of gesture and an almost military precision are not in the least incompatible with elasticity of articulation. He not only hated gesticulation and posturing before the orchestra, but he reduced the necessary gestures of conducting to an unobtrusive minimum. With typical Kapellmeister before him, and not a few since, this course has generally been associated with a metronome-like rigidity of tempo, but with Weingartner it had a living pulsation. The other feature was his fidelity to the tempo which, his profound experience assured him, was the one at which the music should be performed. Orchestral players used to say that of all the conductors under whom they had played he was almost the only one whose tempo never varied to the slightest degree between rehearsal and performance. Probably it

never varied between one performance and another. The romantic and temperamental conductor often sins in this respect. When, for instance, Nikisch came to conduct at St. Petersburg the Paris version of *Tannhäuser* his tempo in the Venusberg music differed at rehearsal so much from that to which the dancers were accustomed that the ballet-master had hurriedly to revise his choreography, but at the performance his tempo was almost the *status quo*.

Weingartner brought a keen intellect to bear upon his art. His pamphlet, *Über das Dirigieren* (On Conducting) (1895), is a landmark in its history, and had a wide influence on its practice. His *Advice on the Performance of Classical Symphonies*, the first volume of which treats of those of Beethoven (1906), is a valuable guide to a task which he had mastered to the uttermost detail. There was in his work nothing arbitrary and very little that could be ascribed to unsupported intuition. He stood for authority. In later years this authority was rarely extended beyond the central portion of the repertoire—the great German classics with the addition of Berlioz, for whom he had a special predilection and whose complete works were issued under his editorship from 1900 onwards. In earlier times his enthusiasms—and also his prejudices—had been more widely distributed. In the lecture on the Symphony after Beethoven (or “since”, not “according to”, as I have seen it translated somewhere), which he delivered in 1897 at Berlin, Bremen, Munich and Hamburg, he paid a tribute to Borodin's B minor Symphony, which was then a long way from having received the general recognition it has since won. On the rare occasions when Germans have approved the music of a foreign composer the praise has usually been given with a tinge of condescension embarrassing to the recipient, as much as to say that the achievement was remarkable for one who had not the good fortune to be born a German. This could, for instance, often be discerned in complimentary references to Elgar. But Weingartner, who had already enthusiastically taken up the cause of Berlioz, had no such narrow racial views. He even sought to destroy the legend, so popular in Germany, that this is an unmusical country. On the other hand, in that lecture he was somewhat critical of Brahms. From the context one gathers that, like many another, he was irritated by the pretensions of the extreme Brahmins, who had hailed his First Symphony as “The Tenth”, and launched the now familiar locution, “the three B's”, claiming for their idol an equality with Bach and Beethoven which Weingartner was unwilling to concede. Thus the opinion he then expressed was prejudiced and, I understand, was amended twelve years later in the 1909 edition, which I have not seen. But if with the passing of time his prejudices waned the field of his enthusiasms did not appreciably widen, and it is to be feared that among the many tributes to his memory mention of the assistance he might have given to the cause of living, contemporary music is conspicuously absent. At the beginning of his career he was a protégé of Liszt, but there is no record of his having followed the example set him at Weimar of liberal-mindedness towards more recent composers.

Weingartner was never content with his world-wide reputation as one of the greatest conductors of his period. It was also his ambition to be a great composer, and he took himself very seriously indeed as a literary and dramatic author. Not only does he tell us: “I was so firmly convinced that I could write my own operatic texts that, I never even considered having one written for me”, but he wrote *Terra, ein Symbol*, consisting of five dramas

in blank verse. Like many other composers he was disposed to regard as honest and impartial those critics who praised his works, and as maliciously biased those who failed to do so. That is only human nature. But he has himself revealed what was the basis of most of the adverse criticism he encountered. "I allowed Wagner's influence to act on me with all its force, and that is why I was able to cope with it in the end." He gives the prominence of italics to the maxim, "He who seeks originality will never find it". To regard originality as undesirable unless unsought may or may not be sound aesthetic philosophy, but for a composer—and particularly a young composer, at the time of life when wild oats are a sign of health—to adopt it as a rule of procedure almost inevitably destines him to rank with the epigoni of his age, who are never acclaimed great by posterity, even when they have been by their contemporaries, which Weingartner to his chagrin was not. As early as 1901, Riemann, in his *History of Music in the Nineteenth Century*, classing him with "Nachwuchs", succinctly describes his operas as post-Wagnerian and his orchestral works as "a modern species of Kapellmeister-Musik". Of the latter one may be taken as an illustration: *Das Gefilde der Seligen* (The Fields of the Blessed), inspired by Böcklin's picture in the Berlin National Gallery, is a luscious symphonic poem, warm of texture and cleverly scored, which takes us into the atmosphere of the second act of "Tristan", and because of that is enjoyable to hear, but one feels that what Saint-Saëns said to Weingartner after a performance of his first opera, *Sakuntala*, would be equally applicable here: "Des choses très belles, vraiment, mais—les choses les plus belles sont de Richard Wagner". We in England have had no opportunity of becoming acquainted with *Sakuntala* or its eight successors: *Malawiha*, *Genesius*, *Orestes* (a trilogy), *Kain und Abel*, *Dame Kobold*, *Die Dorfschule*, *Meister Andrea* and *Der Apostat* and performances of his seven symphonies and other orchestral works have been very rare, though we have long admired his brilliant orchestral treatment of Weber's *Invitation to the Dance*, the themes of which are interwoven with much skill. His chamber music has found friends among those who are more inclined to avoid than to seek new ideas in composition or new musical experiences. Besides two violin sonatas it consists of five string quartets, a string quintet and three works with piano. The only compositions of Weingartner that may be said to have found general favour among us are to be sought among his early songs, comprised in Op. 22, 25, 27 and 28, such as *Motten* and *Plauderwünsche*, known in English as "The Book-Worm" and, rather clumsily, "Tell-tale Laundry". These were the first of his compositions to become known in this country. The last was a *Sinfonietta* for solo violin, viola and 'cello with small orchestra, Op. 83, composed in 1934. After having received the Gold Medal of the Royal Philharmonic Society, the composer presented the autographed score "as a sign of my gratitude and admiration", and the work was performed 23rd February, 1939.

Weingartner was a somewhat unusual compound of great qualities, which will be long remembered, of great ambitions, some of which were fulfilled, others not, and strange weaknesses, such as his sensitiveness to vexations which a stronger man would have ignored, and a streak of superstition which made him regard astrology as a long-neglected "science" recently brought to life again. But the driving-power was consistently an aesthetic ideal, which made him the devoted servant of great music.

Hyam Greenbaum (1901-1942)

BY

CECIL GRAY

WAGNER once said somewhere that he learnt to compose music as one learns to speak a foreign language. It was not for him a natural mode of expression, but had to be laboriously acquired. It is this, no doubt, that explains, partly at least, the antipathy and aversion that so many musicians have always entertained towards his art, and the secret of his success with the large public which is not musically minded. However that may be, what Wagner said of himself is to a great extent true of many, perhaps most musicians, especially in this country; for the very good and simple reason that under normal conditions of life we are taught to think and express ourselves in words long before we learn to handle the language of musical tones. But there are some exceptions; and just as Mozart—the supreme antithesis to Wagner—thought and expressed himself in terms of musical sounds before he learnt to read or write, or speak, almost: so in his own smaller way did Hyam Greenbaum, who died on the 13th May last, at the tragically premature age of forty-one.

He was, in fact, a born musician, literally and not merely metaphorically. That is to say, musical sounds, not words, were his natural medium of expression. Language was to him the "foreign" idiom that music is to most of us in early years; and although in later life he acquired a fine literary sensibility and a deep all-round culture, one was always aware of his musical accent, so to speak.

His precocity was phenomenal, almost as much so as that of Mozart himself. At the age of three his passionate interest in and love of music was such that he was able at once to pick out the particular phonograph record he wished to hear, from a large number. At the age of four he began to learn to play the violin, and already with his second lesson he was able to play a little waltz in perfect pitch and rhythm, and with absolute sureness of bowing. By the time he was seven his progress had been so rapid that he made a public appearance in his native town of Brighton as a wonder-child, with a performance of Beethoven's Violin Concerto. When eight years of age a scholarship was specially created for him by the late Mr. Arthur Sassoon in order to enable him to continue his studies. At nine he won the medal for musical dictation in the senior class of the Brighton School of Music. At ten he won the Stern scholarship at the same institution, and the following year he won an open scholarship at the Royal College of Music in London.

It is true that his precocity was abnormal in other directions as well. The doctor who officiated at his birth, a tough old Scottish veteran who had brought thousands of infants into the world, was astonished to observe that for the first and only time in his experience, the baby immediately after birth half-lifted its head; and at the age of one he began to walk. After the war broke out in 1914 his general physique and appearance were such that by giving a false date of birth he was able to enlist in the army without arousing

the suspicion of the authorities at the age of fourteen and a half; and at fifteen he was in France, fighting in the trenches. He was, I believe, by a long way the youngest soldier who has ever been in the British army, in modern times at least. As a result of representations made by his parents to the War Office he was naturally sent back from France and discharged from the army.

He thereupon resumed his musical career, and after an audition with Sir Henry Wood, in which one of the test pieces which he played through at sight was the exacting solo part in *Ein Heldenleben* of Strauss, to the astonishment of Sir Henry, who prophesied a brilliant career for the young artist, he became leading second violin in the Queen's Hall Orchestra. After spending some years in this position he joined the Brosa Quartet as second violin, the other members, apart from the leader, being Rubens the viola and Pini the 'cellist. This quartet rapidly became the best in England, one of the finest in Europe, or in the world for that matter, and toured with brilliant success all over the continent, in France, Germany and Italy particularly.

But the greatest and hitherto secret ambition of his life was to become a conductor, and with a view to achieving it he decided to abandon his brilliant career as a violinist. This would have been round about 1930. Mr. Pini, the 'cellist, has told me himself that after Greenbaum left, the quartet was never the same again; and it is no reflection on those who succeeded him, or on the great artist that Brosa was and is, to say that it was Greenbaum who provided the psychological lynch-pin which held the ensemble together. But he had decided that conducting was his true vocation.

It is difficult, however, to become a conductor, especially in this country, without social influence or financial backing, and several lean and disillusioning years ensued upon the voluntary renunciation of his hitherto brilliantly successful career as a player. Apart from a few unimportant, sporadic, free-lance engagements, his gifts were completely ignored, and he was given virtually no chance to show what he could do with an orchestra. Eventually despairing of any issue to the blind alley in which he found himself, so far as serious music was concerned, he was forced to accept the offer of a post as musical director to Mr. C. B. Cochran, the famous theatrical impresario, for whom he conducted with brilliant success a series of West End musical shows. This phase lasted for about three years, I think, during which time he also acted as recording manager to the Decca Record Co. This was the period of his greatest success from a material point of view, and of the greatest dissatisfaction from the point of view of the artist he felt himself, and his friends knew him to be. His gifts were being absurdly wasted, and eventually he gave up all these commercial musical activities on being offered the less lucrative but more artistically congenial post of musical director to the Television Department of the B.B.C. Even here he had a great deal of heart-breaking work to do in connection with the variety side of the programmes, but there was always something interesting and worth while to do, and the scope and standard of the productions were continually improving. Indeed Greenbaum was just on the verge of bringing about a high standard of artistic achievement in this hitherto experimental and pioneer work when the war broke out, and the studio was closed down for the duration of hostilities. From then onwards he was relegated to the light music department of the B.B.C., and during the last year or two of his life he was virtually an exile in a remote Welsh sea-side town, in charge of the Variety Orchestra. And so

died Hyam Greenbaum, probably the most richly gifted interpretative artist, and certainly the best conductor of his generation in this country.

It is difficult to write temperately on the subject, and I do not propose to try because certain things need saying badly, and can only be spoken plainly.

In many expressions of sorrow and regret at his untimely end it has been said that the tragedy was all the greater because during his final illness it had been decided to give him work more suited to his abilities. So we are told, at any rate. We are asked to believe that after some years of regular service the B.B.C. had suddenly discovered that Greenbaum was a fine musician. Now, we are all only too well acquainted with the fantastic degree of incompetence that reigns in exalted circles in Langham Place, but I think that for once they are doing themselves less than justice. They may be stupid, but they are not quite as stupid as that. Indeed, on one point they even exhibit a quite impressive degree of acumen—the point at which their own personal position and reputation is menaced. And I think they were sufficiently shrewd to be thoroughly well aware of Greenbaum's capacities, and uneasily conscious of the fact that their own would show up to poor advantage if he were allowed the chance to which his talents entitled him. There, I truly believe, and nowhere else, lay the reason why he was so carefully, so assiduously, kept in the background. It would have been as much as their jobs were worth to have given him a fair chance. They dared not risk it.

If anyone likes to stigmatize these observations as uncharitable and lacking in the milk of human kindness, by all means let him. I shall endure the accusation with singular equanimity. However, let us, for the sake of argument, charitably assume that the explanation of the failure to make use of Greenbaum's outstanding talents is not to be found in envy or malice or fear for their own positions, but merely in a stupidity which automatically unfits them for these positions; for my high opinion of his talents is not merely the expression of a deep personal regard for a dead friend, but represents an impressive consensus of opinion amongst musicians of every category in this country—players, singers, composers, conductors, critics, and others.

Orchestral players, to begin with. As a race they have their faults, to put it mildly. But there is one thing about them that you cannot deny; they know a genuine musician when they see him, infallibly. You cannot take them in with the *ersatz* article. And if certain conductors could hear some of the things said about them in low taverns to which these illustrious wand-wavers seldom penetrate, I doubt if they would have the courage to appear at rehearsal again the next morning. But for Greenbaum they had a love, a respect, a veneration almost, which had to be seen and heard to be believed. There is nothing they would not have done for him. They recognized in him a leader who knew exactly what he wanted, and who knew exactly how to get it—one of themselves, but their master.

So much for the rank and file of practising musicians, the executants, the craftsmen. Let us go to the opposite extreme, to the creative artists, the composers. The finest minds working in music to-day in this country, such as William Walton, Constant Lambert, Alan Rawsthorne, and others too numerous to mention, were of precisely the same opinion. Not merely did they frequently come to him with their scores for advice on technical matters but also for constructive aesthetic criticism in the process of composition. He had a deep understanding of, and insight into, all the problems

of artistic creation. He was incidentally a composer. Not a great one, I imagine, nor did he imagine it himself. Actually I saw very little of his work but he certainly had astonishing facility and fecundity. He could turn out anything at a moment's notice, without the slightest difficulty or hesitation. He had incidentally a gift for improvisation which amounted to positive genius. Some friends will remember to their dying days an impromptu performance he once gave of a four-part fugue in the Central European near-atonal style, complete with *stretti*, inversions, *cancrizans*, and so forth, which was not only an exquisite parody and a pungent criticism, but also, as music, very much better than the laboured efforts of the school itself. His improvisations in the manner of Anton Webern, too, though admittedly easier to achieve, were of an exquisite parodistic felicity.

He was not, however, in any real sense a composer. If he had been one he would not have been such a great interpreter of the work of others. Interpretation demands above all things the sacrifice of one's personality, the capacity to identify oneself, momentarily at least, with the thought of someone else. And the chief explanation of Greenbaum's interpretative genius is to be found in the fact that he had no strong, central, creative core. His mind and spirit were those of the chameleon, taking on the colour of whatever they happened to be in contact with at any given moment.

This lack of centrality in him, while directly conditioning his interpretative genius, had naturally and inevitably certain regrettable by-products and repercussions. He was in many ways unreliable, inconsistent, eccentric, easily led, and therefore, of course, easily led astray. It would be absurd and hypocritical of me to attempt to deny what is so well-known to all who knew him. I am only concerned to point out that these weaknesses were the inevitable outcome of his strength, that his qualities and defects were inseparable. In any case his faults, such as they were, concerned his private life only, and are not the concern of any one outside it. They never interfered with his work. To put it quite frankly, if he sometimes had a drink too many, it did not affect his conducting. In this connection it is salutary to recall the celebrated dictum of Abraham Lincoln, in reply to a complaint to the effect that General Grant was inclined to drink too much. "Find out what brand of whisky he drinks", said the President, "and send a cask of it to each of my other generals". Greenbaum never "let a show down". Many of his colleagues never do anything else, without being able to plead the excuse of human frailty.

It was necessary to go into this matter because it has frequently been said of him that, in the hackneyed phrase, he was his own worst enemy, and that this is the chief reason why he was passed over in favour of admittedly less gifted rivals. It is absolutely and entirely false. Where his art was concerned he was the essence of reliability and integrity, and that is all that matters in this connection.

No, it simply will not do. There is no legitimate excuse for the failure on the part of those in power in the musical world—and I do not by any means confine my reproaches to the B.B.C., who in this respect are no worse than anyone else—to give this fine artist the opportunities to which his talents entitled him. And nothing is more sickening than the sanctimonious, hypocritical tributes to him that one hears on all sides now that he is safely out of the way. They remind one a little too forcibly of the lavish floral

tributes paid by Chicago gangsters to the rivals whom they had successfully bumped off.

In saying all this, I hope it will be understood that I am not making accusations against any particular individuals. It is one of the tragedies of life that an exceptional talent automatically, fatally, inevitably, raises up against itself a formidable, almost impersonal opposition, which can only be overcome by a fortunate combination of circumstances which, in this particular case, did not occur. The perfectly natural and legitimate self-interest of many estimable people, when combined and concentrated against one instinctively recognized by all to be their superior, inevitably engenders such tragic results. It is an old story: in fact—the oldest story in the world, and certainly in the history of art. But the tragedy is particularly acute and poignant, the sense of loss more hopelessly irreparable, in the case of an interpretative artist. The despised and neglected creator at least leaves his work behind him for posterity. The interpreter does not. There is no more tragic figure than the great interpretative artist who has never been given the chance to reveal his powers. Such was Hyam Greenbaum.

Book Reviews

English Cathedral Music from Edward VI to Edward VII. By Edmund H. Fellowes. Pp. 268. (Methuen.) 1941. 16s.

"The English are a nation of singers." For five hundred years or more we have excelled in the composition and performance of vocal music. The choirs of medieval times established a tradition which has been kept alive throughout the centuries, and it is a token of the virility of our race that it has survived in spite of many buffetings. The work of Dr. Fellowes on the music of the Tudor period is well known, and his latest book will be heartily welcomed alike by professional musicians and by those who seek a reliable guide to the study of Cathedral music. He limits his study to the Services and Anthems which have been specifically written for Cathedrals and Collegiate Churches and Chapels. Speaking of the national instinct for vocal music he claims that not only has it had a very powerful influence upon the actual rendering of the choral services of the great Churches, but that "these establishments were founded and endowed for the special purpose of performing the daily offices with all the dignity that music could contribute". Is there some danger that this fact may be forgotten? He continues, "As regards the boys, it can be said without hesitation that the tone and quality of English choristers as trained by English choirmasters cannot be matched anywhere else in the world. The training provided by the existence of endowed choirs in the Cathedral establishments has made them the nurseries of British musical composition." We are glad to see the challenge presented to those who sometimes claim that "choristers have to give so much of their time daily to Cathedral work that their ordinary education must suffer. It is true that something in the school curriculum must be sacrificed . . . but the compensations in the choir work outweigh the disadvantages. A chorister necessarily cultivates a power of concentration such as nothing else can give him at that age". Cathedral organists and precentors will readily endorse this.

The first four Chapters of the book bring us to the end of the Edwardian period. They trace the musical happenings from the Reformation onwards to the time when the "note against note" principle, strongly enjoined by Cranmer, was firmly established. The harmonic material was, of course, of the simplest type, but great beauty of effect could be achieved thereby, as shown by the excellent example quoted on page 41, to the words, "If any man wyll follow me let him forsake hymselfe and take up hys crosse and follow me". In Elizabethan days this method of composition persisted and was the basis of the "Short" as contrasted with the more elaborate texture of the "Great" services (p. 73). Three intensely interesting Chapters are devoted to the music of the "Golden Age". There is a whole Chapter on Byrd, a quotation from whom (p. 77) shows the earliest use of a solo voice accompanied by organ, an anticipation by three hundred years of the work in this realm of S. S. Wesley and his contemporaries. Morley, Tomkins, Weelkes and Gibbons are considered next, and those upon whom devolves the work of drawing up service lists will find of great use the mention of such of the

compositions by these early composers and their forerunners as are available in modern editions.

To the Restoration period three more Chapters are assigned and much of interest is to be found about lesser men as well as about the outstanding Purcell. "Purcell's great reputation as a composer has never stood higher than it does now; yet there exists a very widespread opinion, rightly or wrongly, that his Church music, with a few exceptions, does not reach the same outstanding excellence as does his secular work." The bass solo, quoted on page 159, which has a range from the high F to low C, was written for John Gostling, of whom it is said that his "bass voice must have been one of the most wonderful of all time; and it may be imagined that the Chapel Royal at Whitehall was crowded by a fashionable congregation, headed by the King and his courtiers, eagerly anticipating the prospects of hearing some marvellous effect produced by the combined efforts of composer and singer".

William Croft, born 1678, "holds a unique position in English Cathedral music by reason of his setting of the Burial Service, the opening sentences of which are now sung at almost all funerals at which music is performed. Owing to its remarkable beauty it is not likely to be superseded for this purpose." Maurice Greene and William Boyce are placed among the early Georgians. Of the latter it is stated that he certainly stands as the leading personality in English music in the eighteenth century after the decline of the Restoration School. His name will always be associated with his three volumes of Cathedral Music, but as Dr. Fellowes points out, "This famous collection bears his name, but it was not his work alone. It was his master, Maurice Greene, who first planned it." In the later Georgian period the name of Jonathan Battishill is prominent. A fine passage of his is quoted on page 193, taken from the anthem "Oh Lord look down from Heaven", a composition that "is worthy of a place among the best unaccompanied anthems in the entire repertory of Cathedral music".

The two Wesleys, father and son, are discussed and it is pointed out that when "Blessed be the God and Father" was first performed at Hereford Cathedral, only trebles and a single bass were available. Many interesting notes are given on the larger works of these composers. The closing Chapter is mainly devoted to Stanford, whose finely developed work so greatly enriched the store of Cathedral music.

The book is well indexed, and forming an Appendix are some examples of Cathedral weekly music lists. The musical illustrations are numerous and well selected: in a number of cases they correct long-standing typographical errors. Within the limit of the period covered no important names are omitted and the biographical sections of the book make it an excellent work of reference.

A. C. T.

Philharmonic. By Thomas Russell. Pp. 180. (Hutchinson.) 7s. 6d.

Books on post-war reconstruction in its various forms usually make agreeable escapist reading. There is no escape for people actively concerned with the performance and presentation of music in this country from the jab of Mr. Russell's resentful pen. He spares neither conductors, opera singers, concert agents, gramophone companies, Government Departments, Schools of music nor even the innocents who sat in the stalls at the Queen's Hall and Covent Garden in what he clearly regards as the bad old pre-war days.

He looks forward to his conception of a post-war world fit for orchestral players to live in; whether this dream-world would be considered habitable by other musicians is open to doubt. Conductors shall not have "the power of life or death over" players—presumably this means the right to engage or dismiss players—but orchestras will have the right to engage or dismiss conductors. One can see Mahler or Toscanini accepting such conditions! The State is to hand over the money necessary to provide concerts for the nation to a Soviet of orchestral players. Organisations which desire to control the recipients of their grants either in the use of them or in other ways are "historically inapt" (p. 145).

It is not entirely surprising that Mr. Russell should think along these lines; his business acumen has been largely responsible for holding the London Philharmonic Orchestra together and adapting its activities to war-time needs since its reconstruction in 1939. Just pride in his orchestra's and his own wartime achievements leads him to surmise that a policy which has proved successful for this one body in the unique circumstances of this war will necessarily be equally effective for all musical organisation under the different conditions of peace.

The best parts of the book are those dealing with the need for larger audiences and halls to accommodate them. It is tragic and absurd that the destruction of the Queen's and Free Trade Halls (both of them too small to hold audiences of sufficient size to cover the expenses of a well-rehearsed orchestral concert) should have deprived London and Manchester of the only halls nearly suitable for symphony concerts. The defence of programmes of standard classics and the frequent repetitions of popular symphonies is weakened only by a dig at the gramophone companies for showing "little of their old initiative".

Most musicians will thank the author for voicing his dissatisfaction with the existing music-school training for orchestral players. Herbert Menges made a useful start in remedying this state of affairs some years ago when he started the Rehearsal Orchestra. If only the L.P.O.'s splendid horn quartet could now train a team of youngsters towards their own excellence, one little problem of post-war music would be well on the way to solution.

In his dislike of the old order Mr. Russell seems to have overlooked the fact that not only the very existence of the L.P.O. but the popularity it enjoys under his management is the fruit of Sir Thomas Beecham's generosity and genius. It is the reputation for fine playing with which Beecham endowed his orchestra that makes the name L.P.O. attractive to present day audiences. One can only smile when the author writes "even the L.P.O. is not yet a perfect orchestra". And are his readers seriously expected to have such short memories that they forget the great days when Paul Beard was the leader, the days when Leon Goossens, Reginald Kell, Riddle and Pini were in the L.P.O.?

While it is gratifying to see Mr. Russell endorsing the scheme which Sir Thomas Beecham and the reviewer prepared in 1936 for six regional orchestras catering for the concert and operatic needs of the country, the fact must be faced that there were not then and there are not now in this country enough players to make two, let alone six, really first class orchestras, even if all the resources were pooled. The great orchestras of the United States have been built only by collecting the best players from all parts of the world. (Toscanini

took William Primrose to lead the violas of his N.B.C. orchestra.) If we are to have six first-class orchestras here after the war we shall have to import string players from Russia, Poland and Italy, woodwind from France, brass from Central Europe and turn a deaf ear to the squeals of local protective organisations. Mr. Russell goes half-way to ceding this point when he admits the beneficial influence of Willy Hess and Brodsky, and of the Borsdorf and Goossens families. It would be a piquant situation but a sorry outlook for music in Britain if our Soviet of orchestral players should impose narrow Fascist nationalism on the art!

The book does not say to what extent the playing members of the L.P.O. have benefited materially by the change in constitution. It is likely, and I believe it to be a fact, that in the last two years they have given more concerts and earned less money than in any like period when their salaries came out of the pockets of Sir Thomas Beecham and his friends. Whether they have compensating personal and artistic satisfactions for any loss of income and of the comparative security of a yearly contract is a question only they can answer, and that individually. Of the splendid sacrifices the L.P.O. made when they started on their own their champion says too little. The provincial festival at which they played on sharing terms and received as their part only a few shillings per man for the best part of a week's work was probably not an isolated instance. If, in pre-war days, players had been a little less insistent on their rights and a little more willing to meet their various employers co-operatively, Mr. Russell would have been able to devote more of his book to the ways and means of creative planning for the future and less to the easing, as he puts it, of "the grudges of many years" against conductors and the other peculiar and perplexing but necessary fauna who share his determination to establish music in all its branches on a just, proper and permanent basis when the war is over.

W. L.

The Ballad in Music. By Sidney Northcote. Pp. 124. (O.U.P.) 7s. 6d.

The scope of these 109 pages of wireless causeries is best gauged by Mr. Maurice Brown's terminal "note", containing a list of published recordings of the musical works mentioned in the text. An eclectic survey, it may interest an enthusiast for Loewe and Janáček; it will hardly satisfy anyone else, a scholar least of all. Dr. Northcote complains of Ernest Walker's inattention to Welsh song, but is himself so inattentive to English poetry as to say that the distinguishing characteristic of Chaucer's ballades is the *omission of the envoi* (italics mine). Elsewhere he tells us that Malory's *Morte d'Arthur* was "probably derived from an earlier ballad cycle". That is not the way to refer to the Vulgate and the "Boron" cycle of prose romances. A glance at Sir Edmund Chambers' *Arthur of Britain* would have been enough, but no! Here I see no research, only the most desultory scissors and paste. There are three allusions to Beethoven: i.e. *Fidelio*, *Egmont* (melodrame) and *Meerestille*! Not one word about the sketches for an *Erikönig*, dating (it is said) from 1805-1810, at least five years earlier than Schubert's, which is considered with Loewe's. Nor, though Moussorgsky's *Song of the Flea* is mentioned, does op. 75, no 3, come in for a word. And if a ballad is (p. 4) "a story told in the simplest poetic manner", where is *Urian's Reise um die Welt*? But, what is far worse, there is complete silence as to the large body of Scottish, Welsh and English songs, arranged by Beethoven for George

Thomson, and recently bibliographized by Messrs. Oldman and Hopkinson. This is hardly *surprising*, for that highly important section of the composer's output has long been anathema to folk-song experts, apparently because the diatonic scale is there employed. But the omission, in any manual on the ballad, which mentions, as this does, *The Beggar's Opera*, Carey, Dibdin, etc., is surely culpable, since—to take but two examples—these settings contain creations like *The Miller of the Dee*, a "personal narrative" (p. 6) with the mill for accompaniment, and *Young Terence Macdonagh*, with its evocation of the Celtic twilight long before W. B. Yeats. Again, Haydn's name does not figure *at all*, though there are at least (on any showing) two real ballads in *The Seasons*, and the Canzonets (*My mother bids me bind my hair*, in particular) might be considered as the origin of, and atonement for, the drawing-room ballad of a later generation. And where is Weber (*Aennchen*)? And to represent Berlioz by *Sara la Baigneuse only*! No amount of buttering of Brahms, Wolf and the musical talent of Czechoslovakia can, to my thinking, outweigh such wanton neglect. The best I can say for Dr. Northcote is that he does seem genuinely moved by the starkly dramatic, if melodically ineffective, examples of Carl Loewe.

E. H. W. M.

Ancient European Musical Instruments: an Organological Study of the Instruments in the Leslie Lindsay Mason Collection at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. By Nicholas Bessaraboff. (Published for the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, by the Harvard University Press. \$10.00 plus postage; obtainable by booksellers in this country through the Oxford University Press.)

This is one of the most comprehensive and thorough works on the subject of musical instruments that has ever appeared—and one of the most beautiful. It covers almost the whole ground of its subject, illustrating it at every point by reference to items in the Collection mentioned in the title. That collection is a British one—the famous one of Canon F. W. Galpin, bought by Mr. William Lindsay, of Boston, and presented to the Museum in 1916 as a memorial to his daughter, Mrs. Leslie Lindsay Mason, who had perished in the *Lusitania*. We may regret that it left our shores, but it could clearly have gone to no place where it would be better appreciated and certainly could have come into no hands that would lavish more care and money on providing it with a worthy description of its contents. The only rival of this catalogue in the United States must be the late Professor Albert Stanley's of the fine collection in his university of Ann Arbor, Michigan, and that, valuable as it is, is more of an annotated list and less of a reasoned treatise than the present work. Indeed, this book must at once be recognized as one henceforth indispensable to every student of the subject of what the author calls "organology". By this last word he implies "the scientific and engineering aspects of musical instruments" (he is himself, by original profession, an engineer), but, as a matter of fact, he carries his treatment further, trenching frequently on the historical consideration of that "creative, artistic and scientific aspect" of *music itself* which he describes as "musicology". (The distinction is not very clear; surely if the existence of a branch of study to be called "organology" be recognized at all it must be regarded as merely a part of a wider-ranging science of "musicology".)

How systematic is the author's mind is realized by a mere reading of the Table of Contents, which gives his classification of the various sound-producing objects he is to describe; it varies in some details from any to which we are accustomed, but is extremely logical. The introductory matter to the sections of the book concerning particular classes of instruments (e.g. the viol class and the lute class) is often considerable in extent and always highly informative. A point clearly made in the text (though not every reader will at once shake off old teaching thoroughly enough to be immediately convinced) is the independence of the viol and violin families, the latter not deriving from the former, from which, in the author's view, it differs in too many essentials to justify any theory of parentage.

The very puzzling question of differing methods of defining pitch receives thoughtful attention. It is gratifying to the present writer to find the readers of this book referred, "for further details or other systems", to the article "Pitch" in the *Oxford Companion to Music*. It must be admitted that Mr. Bessaraboff has listed two that are omitted from that work. They are the *International Standard System* (which enquiry shows to be practically unknown to acousticians in this country) and the *American Standard System* (which, as the author says, was too recent for inclusion in the *Companion*). He points out defects in both of these systems and as both of them apply only to equal temperament they are, surely, practically useful only to piano-forte makers and tuners. It is much to be regretted that no one system is universally accepted.

The pages of THE MUSIC REVIEW seem to be the properest place possible in which to make an appeal to "organologists" and musicologists in general to be more practical in the setting out of the results of their researches. The arrangement of the present work is in some respects faulty. In its 380 pages of text there appear 984 references to notes. Were these *footnotes* this would not much matter (though some of them are of such a nature that they could, with perfect propriety, have been absorbed into the main text); but they are not footnotes; they occupy a separate department of 67 pages at the end of the book. In reading any one page of text, then, one is broken off two or three times by the necessity of turning to the end of the book and of finding the particular note to which one is referred; when one finds it, it may turn out to be a mere mention of the exact source of a statement (with which, at the moment, one could well have dispensed, though, admittedly, it ought to be recorded as an authentication and as a help to any reader who wishes to follow up the point under treatment), or it may turn out to be an extension of the discussion of the text, and one of high interest and importance. If it turns out to be of the "source" type it merely exasperates the reader to have been interrupted, while if it turns out to be of the discussion type it imposes on the reader the new and laborious task of looking backwards and forwards for some minutes, from one end of the book to the other, in order to grasp the bearing of note on text and text on note. What is wrong with the old system of notes at the bottom of pages? Nothing, perhaps, but a printer's objection that they do not look pretty!

Then there are the plates. Apart from many page-pictures inserted in the course of the book there are 15 beautiful plates at the end. They are needlessly small, the margins being so lavish that not one of them occupies half the page surface available. Some of them are very crowded; the first,

for instance, pictures 56 instruments. In reading the text one is again constantly driven to turning from it to the end of the book, and when one finds the plate to which one has been referred one is irritated at losing time through the arrangement of the plates being based on neat appearance and not on numerical order, so that one's distracted eye has to range backwards and forwards over its whole surface to find the instrument at the moment in question. Finally, if, having gone through the book, one begins to study the plates as a whole (as most readers will wish to do), one is baffled by the fact that the names of the instruments are not given on them and that when in doubt about one of these one must search for the relevant text—which, as the page numbers are not supplied on the plate, may take some finding.

Another matter—many of the plates are placed sideways (though the width of the page is such that this is quite needless). Thus one has to be continuously turning the book about—text one way; illustrations another. Altogether, as will be seen, it is not an armchair book; it must be read at a table.

The above complaints must not be taken as unkind criticism of this particular book; there are, in our own and other countries, plenty of books, on this and similar subjects, just as unpractical in their arrangement. A smaller matter—what is the advantage, in such books, of the dichotomy of "Index Nominum" and "Index Rerum"? It merely makes one other complication in searching for what one wants.

Mr. Bessaraboff includes an extensive and practical bibliography. It is very satisfying to the British reader to note in this and in many passages scattered throughout the text of the work full recognition of the labours of British students of the subject, and one feels rather proud as one notes how often recur such names as those of Henry Balfour, D. J. Blaikley, Walter F. H. Blandford (specially praised), Adam Carse, Arnold Dolmetsch, Alex. Ellis, H. G. Farmer, H. M. Fitzgibbon, Cecil Forsyth, F. W. Galpin, Rosamond E. M. Harding, Gerald R. Hayes (also specially praised), E. Heron-Allen, A. J. Hipkins, Kathleen Schlesinger (with a plea for a reprint of her very fine *Encyclopaedia Britannica* articles, unfortunately omitted from the latest edition, and special praise for her "monumental piece of scholarship, *The Greek Aulos*"), C. Sanford Terry and Christopher Welch—not to mention old-timers like Thomas Mace. This list must surely bring home to the British musician the fact that in "organology", as in other branches of musicology, the work of his countrymen has been more abundant and original than is sometimes remembered.

P. A. S.

REVIEWERS

G. A.	— GERALD ABRAHAM
M. C.	— MOSCO CARNER
W. L.	— WALTER LEGGE
A. C. T.	— A. C. TYSOE
P. A. S.	— PERCY A. SCHOLES
W. G. W.	— W. GILLIES WHITTAKER
E. H. W. M.	— E. H. W. MEYERSTEIN

Reviews of Music

Kodály, Zoltán. *Háry János' Suite* (miniature score). (Boosey and Hawkes.) 9s.

Benjamin, Arthur. *Two Jamaican Pieces* for small orchestra (full score). (Boosey and Hawkes.) 5s.

Clifford, Hubert. *Five English Nursery Tunes* for full orchestra (full score). (Boosey and Hawkes.) 15s.

However little else these three works have in common, they share one characteristic: lowness of specific gravity. All three together would not turn the scale against one solid academic symphony or Victorian cantata. Yet it would be unjust to dismiss them as much ado about nothing; indeed, they are music as most of us like it. (Especially Kodály.) We do not measure music nowadays by the weight of its ideas (or, if we do, we employ Gilbertian scales in which *Trial by Jury* easily outweighs *The Martyr of Antioch*); we measure it by the quality of its ideas. And ever since Rimsky-Korsakov's *Spanish Capriccio* we have had to reckon orchestration as possibly part of the idea, not merely its expression. We have to in each of these scores.

Háry János is a modern classic, far too well known to call for anything here but a word of warm welcome for this well-printed miniature score. (The old Philharmonia score has been unobtainable for some time.) It is no serious dispraise of Mr. Benjamin and Mr. Clifford to say that neither has anything like Kodály's skill in making a superb orchestral dish out of a few scraps of musical meat; you might as well tell your own very capable cook-general (if you are lucky enough to have one still) that she is not up to the Boulestin standard. Both are very competent craftsmen—Mr. Benjamin something more than competent—but they are not in the Kodály class. Both have borrowed their basic material—that is, if I am right in supposing that Mr. Benjamin brought the themes of his "Jamaican Song" and "Jamaican Rumba" from the West Indies—so we can apply the same test in each case: what has he done with it? Measure for measure, Mr. Benjamin comes off the better. Whether or not the melodies are his own by invention, he has made them his own by imagination. That is the one needful quality that Mr. Clifford's suite lacks, and lacking it he achieves less with his full symphonic orchestra than Mr. Benjamin with a handful of wood-wind, a couple of horns, one trumpet, some slightly exotic percussion, and the strings. By "imagination" I mean such ideas as the flickers of wood-wind that play around the horn's crooning in the "Song". As for the amusing "Rumba", it depends entirely on creative imagination, for the thematic material could hardly be slighter. Of its rather different kind it is nearly as good as the "Alabama song" in Kurt Weill's *Mahagonny*; it has already won considerable popularity as a two-piano piece and the orchestral version is more piquant still.

Mr. Clifford's *Five English Nursery Tunes*—"The Frog and the Mouse", "The Evening Prayer", "Lavender's Blue", "Curly Locks" and "London Bridge"—are workmanlike, musicianly, by turns playful, tender, piquant, brilliant. His orchestration is generally transparent in the Russian manner.

And that suggests a parallel—with Lyadov's *Eight Russian Folk Songs*—which makes it easy for the critic to define what he instinctively feels to be lacking in Mr. Clifford's music. Mr. Clifford is applying a technique to the dressing up of these nursery tunes; it is a very competent technique, but it is not his own technique. The five tunes are most skilfully, most artistically served up, but even the recipes are not peculiar to Mr. Clifford; nor, using well-tried methods, has he managed to project into the process anything recognizable as personal imagination. The work was doubtless, was indeed evidently, a labour of love; but just because that fertilizing personal element, either technical or imaginative, is missing the labour has been lost.

Ireland, John. *Concertino Pastorale* for string orchestra (miniature score). (Boosey and Hawkes.) 3s.

Britten, Benjamin. *String Quartet No. 1* (miniature score). (Boosey and Hawkes.) 3s. 6d.

Though neither of these works is quite a masterpiece—after all, not many masterpieces appear in a decade—both are valuable contributions to contemporary British music. Both make the most of their monochrome medium. And there comparisons must end. Their highest common factor is insignificant, and it is not worth while to try to raise it by critical artifice or to extract lessons from imaginary contrasts. The Ireland work demands attention first, not because it is the better, but because its composer is the senior and (let the critic admit) because it is easier to make up one's mind about. The only mystery about it is its title. Why "concertino", which surely means "a little concerto"? There is nothing of the concerto principle in the work. But granted the "pastorale"—provided, of course, that one can recognize pastoral music even when it pointedly avoids 6/8 time. There are three movements—"Eclogue", "Threnody" and "Toccata"—each beautifully written. Ireland is not really a colourist, despite *The Forgotten Rite* (which remains his best orchestral score, as orchestration if not as music), but in compensation he has a remarkable gift for extracting pseudo-colour from a monochromatic medium: the piano or, as he demonstrates here, the string orchestra. He handles the strings only far more skilfully than the whole orchestra, and in the bustling "Toccata" achieves a brilliance that will bear comparison with that work of Elgar's which some of us are bold enough to think will outlive the symphonies. But the "Toccata" is not the best movement. The crown must go to the "Eclogue", which makes quite a lot out of meagre basic material; it is not only the title that makes one think of Virgil; there is a strain of Virgilian poetry in the music itself, with a not unpleasant undercurrent of slightly harsher feeling. Here, too, there is a certain amount of Elgarism, though the movement as a whole is not Elgarian; the likeness is in the cut of the themes. To say that is not, of course, to accuse Ireland of plagiarism; one points it out as one would point out that a prose-writer had got Shakespeare and the Authorised Version into his blood and style. The most purely Irelandish movement is the beautiful "Threnody", which may be instructively compared with the piano piece "In a May Morning", written the following year, the middle piece of the *Sarnia* sequence. Both are in E flat, both in 3/4 time; and, although the pace is very different, both seem to have sprung from the same kind of

emotion. But the "Threnody" is by far the better piece. "In a May Morning" is lush; its emotional outpouring is so direct that one is sorely tempted to apply to it a word which rhymes with that adjective (which would be unjust); in the "Threnody" the emotion is beautifully controlled—with fine result.

Britten's Quartet belongs to another world. That is not a would-be witty allusion to the fact that it was written in the New World to the commission of Mrs. Coolidge and gained for its composer the Coolidge Medal for Chamber Music; it is a statement of a truth. Emotional expressiveness is neither Britten's strong point nor his aim; the beauty of his slow movement is of a much cooler type. And however effectively Ireland may write, however good his technique, "virtuosity" is the last word one would use to describe any of his achievements; it is generally one of the first that dart into one's head on hearing or reading anything of Britten's. From his earliest days he seems always to have possessed an almost flamboyant dexterity in handling his material. (So had his teacher, Frank Bridge, though Britten's music is not otherwise Bridge-like; as for Ireland's, one quite forgets that Britten ever had composition lessons from him too.) This sort of virtuosity is noticeable in every movement of the new work, above all in the finale. And, as with most artists who have such an easy, masterful way with their material, the material is not always of the first order. Britten belongs to a generation that is in not unhealthy reaction against the intense self-criticism that constipated, indeed nearly paralysed, many of their immediate predecessors; but something less than intense self-criticism might have made the composer pause and reconsider his second movement, the *Allegretto con slancio*; no doubt it sounds amusing, but is it quite good enough? Reading the score, one feels it is a little too easy. On the other hand, the opening movement strikes one on first reading as scrappy, on re-reading as concise. The thematic unity of the whole work is beautifully and subtly contrived; Britten has always excelled in this type of workmanship since the early days of his *Sinfonietta*—it is part of his technical virtuosity—but he has never concealed his tracks better than in this Quartet.

Bartók, Béla. *Four Choruses* for unaccompanied female voices (S.S.A.). (Boosey and Hawkes.) 4d. each.

Ireland, John. *A New Year Carol* for mixed voices unaccompanied (S.A.T.B.). (Boosey and Hawkes.) 4d.

None of these little compositions will add very much to its author's reputation. *A New Year Carol* is a pleasant, but not specially distinguished, setting of some charming traditional words "from an anthology by W. H. Auden". It is not clear whether the four Bartók choruses—"Spring", "Enchanting", "Mocking of Youth" and "The Wooing of a Girl"—are new or only a new edition with English words. They are simple, straightforward and singable, either arrangements of Hungarian folk-songs or compositions in folk-song style. "Mocking of Youth" and "The Wooing of a Girl" are the most immediately attractive, but all four may be recommended as material for the conversion of people—they probably abound in choirs—who regard Bartók as an extreme cacophonist. Not that there are no harmonic clashes,

but they are always justified by the movement of the parts and generally arise from what look like chromatic alterations, but are really modal peculiarities of Hungarian folk-music. They represent the real Bartók, though reduced to his simplest terms; or, rather, they present the bare premises from which many of the difficulties of his really representative work have logically evolved and are therefore worth study, despite their slight musical value. Both they and the Ireland *Carol* are also provided with tonic sol-fa notation.

G. A.

PIANO MUSIC

Casadesus, Robert. *Eight Etudes for the Piano*. (New York, G. Schirmer, Inc.; London, Chappell & Co., Ltd.) 6s. 6d.

Rowley, Alec. *Sonate pour Piano*. (Paris, Durand et Cie.; London, United Music Publishers, Ltd.)

Except for Bartók's *Mikrokosmos* and a few other works, the student of modern piano music undoubtedly experiences a certain lack of chiefly technical stuff that keeps pace with the developments of modern piano writing. The eight studies by Casadesus hardly fill this gap. The problems with which they deal are by no means new and are of the kind with which we have by now become intimately acquainted from the piano music of Debussy, Ravel and other impressionists. With this reservation in mind one does not hesitate to commend these studies for their exploitation of the medium, if not in an original, yet a skilful and effective manner which is combined with a certain charm and ease of expression.

Like the studies, the *Sonate* takes a leaf or two out of the book of the French impressionists. Rowley's work is pleasing, slick and extremely well written for the instrument without, however, going beyond the technical equipment of the averagely gifted pianist. The first movement seems to me the least successful. Its construction is somewhat loose and the musical weight of its first-subject theme too light to bear much elaboration. The second movement is charming and permeated with the flavour of folk-song. Undoubtedly the best piece of the work is the finale, a toccata-like movement, which if played with the necessary dash and brilliance should prove most effective in performance.

CHAMBER MUSIC

Dunhill, Thomas F. *Phantasy Suite op. 91, for Clarinet and Piano*. (London: Hawkes & Son, Ltd.) 3s. 6d.

This suite, in six short movements, is a pleasantly unpretentious work which allows the clarinet sufficient scope to display its characteristic paces. Its ideas receive their significance not exclusively from the more or less clever exploitation of the medium, but can bear closer examination on their purely musical merits. In a work of this kind one does not expect a closely knit construction, yet the composer has tried to give it a certain unity by basing the finale on the lyrical opening of the first and on some material from the third movement.

ORCHESTRAL MUSIC

Bartók, Béla. *Rumanian Folk Dances for Small Orchestra* (full score). (London: Hawkes & Son, Ltd.) 5s.

Ireland, John. *Two Pieces for String Orchestra. Minuet and Elegy* (full score). (Hawkes & Son, Ltd.) 3s. 6d.

Holland, Theodore. *Cortège for Violoncello (or Bassoon) Quartet or Violoncello Orchestra* (full score). (London: Hinrichsen Edition, Ltd.) 6s.

Bartók's set of seven Rumanian folk-dances, scored for 2 flutes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 2 horns and strings, was first published in 1922 and has now been issued in an English edition. The work has become a familiar item in the programmes of smaller orchestral combinations both here and abroad. On re-examining the score one cannot help admiring again the simplicity and sureness of touch with which Bartók treated these delightful national dance tunes. The arrangements show the hand of a man who by his life-long researches into the folk-music of South-Eastern Europe has learned the secret of how to clothe such music with a fitting harmonic and instrumental garment.

The two pieces by Ireland have been adapted from the composer's *Downland Suite*. Their tunefulness and simple straightforward manner of writing make them a welcome addition to the repertoire of every amateur string orchestra.

Holland's *Cortège* is an interesting little composition for an unusual combination. Its chief appeal seems to me to lie in the rich, sonorous quality of the string writing and certain effective harmonic turns. It is obviously very suitable for a large body of 'cellos; its effect, however, will undoubtedly suffer if played by a quartet of bassoons which the composer indicates as an alternative.

VOCAL MUSIC

Armstrong Gibbs, C. *Before Daybreak*. For Contralto Solo, Women's Choir, String Quartet, String Orchestra and Pianoforte. Poem by Gordon Bottomley. (London: Winthrop Rogers Edition. Boosey & Hawkes, Ltd.) 3s. 6d.

Warlock, Peter. *The Birds*. Song. Poem by Hilaire Belloc. (London: Joseph Williams, Ltd.) 1s. 6d.

The controversy over the question whether the war with all its various new aspects can be a source of inspiration to the creative artist is still going on in various literary and musical circles and has even entered the well-guarded precincts of the B.B.C. Talks Department. To my mind it is a futile controversy. The true artist seeks his inspiration wherever it can be found, and the measure of his artistic success will be found in the ingenuity and imaginative power with which he is able to translate the original stimulus into terms of pure art. I was prompted to this thought by reading Gordon Bottomley's poem *Before Daybreak*. Its general trend can be guessed from the fact that poet and composer have dedicated their work to the Queen, in honour of Britain's women in war-time. The poet found his

inspiration in the courage and high spirit which the women of Britain have shown in this war.

This is not the time to be men and women.
Our lovers look on death;
We have sent our mates into peril.
We are resolved to share it

sings the chorus of Young Women at the opening of the third part and expresses the hope that

Destruction's ardour shall be turned
Against itself, until life
Is sweet for us and our lovers.

The poem opens with a chorus of Spirits of Earth, Ocean and Air who are outraged at the death and destruction which humanity is wreaking upon itself on land, on the sea and from the air. The reply to their amazed questionings is given by the chorus of Young Women who are joined by an Elder Woman, the representative of the older generation, who at first cannot understand and follow this new spirit of womanly resolve and fortitude. The whole idea is set forth in strong and beautiful words which express the inherent feeling in a direct and moving manner. This poem is a good example of how the artist's mind can be fertilized by problems arising out of the war.

The setting by Armstrong Gibbs has kept the same line of approach. His music is simple, direct and straightforward, his themes are clear-cut and "popular" in the sense of being easily remembered. The three groups of different characters—Spirits, Young Women and Elder Woman—are, if not very characteristically treated, yet kept distinct in the music and set against one another in a dramatically effective way. The work is cast in the form of a cantata in three parts. In writing it the composer had, undoubtedly, large unsophisticated audiences and performances by amateur societies in mind. The choruses are almost invariably homophonic and present no difficulty to any tolerably trained body of singers. The orchestral part is also quite simple yet, at times, it could have done with a more elaborate treatment and with the inclusion, in certain sections, of woodwind and brass to lend the climaxes more substantial support. Considerations of a practical nature probably determined the choice of a string orchestra. *Before Daybreak* is certainly not a work for high-brow audiences, nor is it meant for them. Yet there can be no doubt as to its appeal to the great masses.

Warlock's song was first published in 1927 in leaflet form. The present edition is normal in size and lies within the compass of a mezzo-soprano or baritone. I do not know whether the tune of *The Birds* was taken from a traditional carol. If not, Warlock brought off a most successful piece of stylistic "faking". The music, in its childlike simplicity of expression, fits Belloc's words most beautifully, and the harmonization of the modal melody testifies to the composer's rare taste and delicate skill.

M. C.

- Stainton de B. Taylor. *The Chorale Preludes of J. S. Bach*. Pp. 126. (Oxford University Press.) 8s. 6d.
- Stainton de B. Taylor. *Sheep may safely graze*. Arranged for Organ. (Oxford University Press.) 2s. 6d.
- Charles N. Boyd and Albert Riemenschneider. *Chorales by J. S. Bach*. Bk. II, Chorales 92-120. (Schirmer.) \$2.00.

Some day someone will write a book on the interesting theme of the attitude of musicians and public towards the music of Bach, in the composer's lifetime, in the subsequent period of oblivion, in the reawakening, down to the present time and perhaps later. One of the most significant changes has been in the matter of the organ chorale preludes. The preludes and fugues commanded attention first. The value of the rest of the organ compositions was realized only very slowly. An English firm did not include the chorale preludes in their edition of his works. When the writer was an organ student he was never taught any of them, and when, later, his discovery of them led him to introduce some into recitals he was rebuked by his fellow-organists and told that "it was all right to play the fugues but not such ununderstandable things". Gradually it has been recognized that these works are not only a vast treasure-store of immortal music, but that they help to elucidate the treatment of chorales found in the choral compositions, that, for instance, the *Orgelbüchlein* is an encyclopedia of motives and methods which were employed by the composer to the end of his days. Without aid to their study many are inscrutable. Mr. Taylor has performed an invaluable service to organists by dealing with the whole *corpus*, in groups and individually, giving particulars of each canto fermo and of the hymn interpreted, with frequent translations of important lines from the latter, describing the meaning of the prelude, suggesting treatment, registration, etc., in fact, providing a guide which can be used year after year as these works are studied and performed. There are also preliminary chapters on "The origins and development of the chorale prelude" and "The performance of Bach's music". As secretary of the London Bach Cantata Club the author has had much experience in the latter. The book is a model of concise and well-reasoned statement. With it, with C. S. Terry's edition of the four-part chorales (same publishers), in order to see the simple form of the melodies and several verses of each hymn, and with the works themselves, the organ loft will provide many hallowed hours of deep spiritual experiences.

Knowing the preludes one naturally wishes to compare the corresponding settings in church cantata, Passion and oratorio, and vice versa. Even if one possesses the complete *Bachgesellschaft* edition (an expensive luxury in these days), hunting up the various numbers in 25 of the badly-indexed volumes is a laborious task. Many musicians will be grateful to Messrs. Boyd and Riemenschneider (the latter name, by the way, appropriately associated with many exquisite wood-carvings in old Bavarian churches) for the idea of bringing together in handy form the full scores of settings in which there is a lesser or greater degree of elaboration, ranging from a single independent instrumental line accompanying a plain version to expansions in the form of fantasias. There are full notes to each, German and English words; vocal score and orchestral parts are issued in addition. Bach high trumpets and horns are generally problems for conductors. The former exist only in a few large centres; the latter are completely obsolete to-day.

Yet one must question the suggestion of the editors that clarinets be substituted for these where the original scoring is not possible. Varied as is the colouring of Bach's orchestral palate (much more so than most people imagine), the clarinet introduces a shade entirely foreign and as disturbing to the sensitive-eared listener as would be the exchange of saxophones for bassoons in Mozart's G minor Symphony. The thrilling effect of two high trumpets in a Bach orchestra (the 3rd is generally low-pitched), cannot be replaced by anything else. The nearest we can get to it is the employment in brilliant movements of the corresponding stop on a swell organ. In quieter movements three or four unison flutes can approximate to the lovely tones produced in the upper registers by a highly-skilled player. This may seem fantastic, but it is true. In Bach's scores we often find a trumpet and a flute placed on exactly the same level so far as strength goes. Trumpets with a curtain of felt or cloth hung over the bells produce the right quality expected from high horns. C. S. Terry advanced a theory that the distinction of Tromba and Corno in Bach's scores referred to differently-shaped mouth-pieces used on the same instrument, and experiment shows that this opinion is entirely justifiable. Messrs. Schirmer's volume is a handsome one and the cost surprisingly reasonable. In its company one can wonder once again at the fertility and overpowering genius of Johann Sebastian.

It is curious how every now and then something known to musicians suddenly springs into widespread popularity. A few years ago a *Humoresque* of Dvořák became the rage and appeared arranged for every conceivable and inconceivable combination. A while back an extended chorale of Bach—*Wohl mir, dass ich Jesum habe*—came to be played and sung everywhere under the title of "Jesu, Joy of man's desiring". Now Pales' delicious little pastoral song with two flutes à bec—*Schafe können sicher weiden*, from "Was mirragt"—bids fair to rival it. Two trophies from the early festive birthday hunting cantata found their way into a church cantata, No. 68, Pan's aria in praise of his earthly Prince was lifted bodily by Bach to extol the Saviour, and the quasi-basso-ostinato of another of Pales' ditties became the foundation of the always popular "My heart ever faithful". So Mr. Taylor has the composer's own justification for his organ arrangement.

W. G. W.





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